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LIFE AND BATTLES
OF
JOHN PAUL JONES,
THE
GREATEST NAVAL HERO
OF
MODERN TIMES.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,
AND EDITED BY MISS JANETTE TAYLOR, FROM ORIGINAL LETTERS
AND MANUSCRIPTS.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY N. B. PARSONS.
1855.

LIFE AND BATTLES

OF

JOHN PAUL JONES,

OR

GREATEST NAVAL HERO

OF

MODERN TIMES

WRITTEN BY HENRY

AND ILLUSTRATED BY JAMES W. WELLS, ESQ.,
AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON,"
"THE LIFE OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN," &c.

BOSTON:

PUBLISHED BY N. B. ALLEN.

1855.

PREFACE.

PAUL JONES was an extraordinary man, and was engaged suddenly, after having been in a comparatively humble employment, in a career connected with events which occupied the attention of the civilized world. Setting aside the services rendered by him to the cause of American freedom, there would be no need of preface or explanation in presenting an account of his life, and selections from the most interesting portions of his correspondence to the public at large; were it not that several works, professing to do so, have already made their appearance.

The first which the Editor of the present work remembers to have seen, was a shilling pamphlet, exhibited in the windows of the New York retail bookstores, in which was a frontispiece, representing Paul Jones as large as the frigate he bestrode, shooting a Lieutenant Grubb with a horse-pistol, more grand in its dimensions than any piece of artillery introduced into the picture. This juvenile reminiscence would be hardly worth recalling, were it not that, but the other day, in one of the Southern papers, the writer actually met with a detailed account, purporting to be a biographical sketch of somebody recently dead, who had served under Paul Jones in the Serapis, describing the latter as shooting this Lieutenant Grubb, with the same horse-pistol, aggrandized in the manner above specified. As no Lieu-

tenant Grubb ever sailed under the orders of Captain John Paul Jones, and as no such person could, in consequence, have been shot by him, it is evident that an unvarnished and full account of the rear admiral's life ought to be circulated, in regions where such fabulous and monstrous legends obtain, in this age of light, admission into public prints.

Ten years ago, a large quantity of original papers belonging to the legatees of Paul Jones, were sent to this country with a view to their being properly connected and published. They were submitted to the Historical Society of New York. The committee who examined them, found that they were valuable and interesting; but circumstances prevented their publication at the time. Mr. Sherburne, register of the United States navy, opened a correspondence with the owners of these documents, as the Editor of the present work is informed, with the view of preparing a life of Jones; but, the negotiation failed.

Shortly after, some of the Chevalier's manuscripts, belonging to his legatees, if they had known how and where to reclaim them, were accidentally found by a gentleman of New York, in a house in the city. They had been left in the custody of its former proprietor. From these, with copies of letters and documents on file in the department of state, Mr. Sherburne prepared a volume which was published in 1825.

Some singularly capricious demon, wonderfully ingenious in producing puzzling and painful disorder, seems to have presided over the arrangement of the materials. The appearance of order in some parts of the compilation only makes the general and particular entanglements more perplexing; and in some places, the

person who connected the documents, having apparently lost himself, goes backwards or leaps forwards, in a style of extraordinary embarrassment, occasioning inextricable confusion.

From this chaos, a clever writer in Great Britain contrived to select materials for an interesting duodecimo, which was published by Murray in the same year. It contains some errors, and but an inconsiderable portion of the Remains, as the modern phrase is, of the Chevalier Paul Jones. Being not exclusively English in its tenor, it appears to have incurred the censure of some of the British presses. This work has been spoken of in the text as the production of an Englishman. The compiler was not well informed at the time. It was the production of an American.

Within a year past a third life of the Chevalier appeared, which was published in Edinburgh in two duodecimo volumes, and is the best which had been compiled; as it contains selections from many original letters, and, what is of more consequence, a translation of the rear admiral's own narrative of the campaign of the Liman. The Editor of that book, which is the basis, so far as the order of arrangement is generally concerned, of the present, gives in his preface the following account of his materials.

“ By his will, dated at Paris on the day of his death, Paul Jones left his property and effects of all kinds to his sisters in Scotland and their children. Immediately on his decease a regular, or rather an official inventory was made of his voluminous papers, which were sealed up with his other effects, till brought to Scotland by his eldest sister, Mrs. Taylor, a few months after his death. They have ever since remained in the custody of his family; and are now, by inheritance, become the property of his niece, Miss Taylor, of Dumfries. They consist of several bound and folio volumes of letters and documents, which are offi-

cially authenticated, so far as they are public papers ; numerous scrolls and copies of letters ; and many private communications, originating in his widely diffused correspondence in France, Holland, America, and other quarters. There is, in addition to these, a collection of writings of the miscellaneous kind likely to be accumulated by a man of active habits, who had for many years mingled both in the political and fashionable circles, wherever he chanced to be thrown.

“ The Journal of the Campaign of 1788, against the Turks, forms of itself a thick MS. bound volume. This Journal was drawn up by Paul Jones for the perusal of the Empress Catharine II. and was intended for publication if the Russian government failed to do him justice. He felt that it totally failed ; but death anticipated his long contemplated purpose. To this Journal, Mr. Eton, in his survey of the Turkish empire, refers, as having been seen by him. It was, however, only the official report, transmitted by Paul Jones to the admiralty of the Black Sea, that this gentleman could have seen. This singular narrative, which so confidently gives the lie to all the Russian statements of that momentous campaign, is written in French. In the following work the language of the original is as closely adhered to as is admissible even in the most literal translation. Several passages have been omitted, and others curtailed, as they refer merely to technical details, which might have unduly swelled this work, without adding much to its interest. Much of the voluminous official correspondence which passed between Paul Jones and the other commanders during the campaign is also omitted. These *Pieces Justificatives* were only intended to corroborate, or elucidate, the narrative ; they are, save in a few instances which are cited, not particularly interesting.”

Besides the documents named in the foregoing extracts, the Editor says, he had before him the correspondence of Jones with his relatives in Scotland, from his boyhood to his death. He has made but little use of it, as his extracts from it are few.

The defects of this life are, that it seems to have been created with a view of supplying a requisite number of pages of given dimensions, and that some of the correspondence, is, in consequence, arbitrarily omitted. It is not strictly true, that the language of the original Jour-

nal of the campaign of the Liman is as closely adhered to, as is consistent with literal translation; and as to the passages "omitted and curtailed," the Editor has occupied fully as much space in apologizing for their non-insertion, as would have been taken up by a literal translation of them. He appears not to have understood them. Among the *Pieces Justificatives* spoken of, there are several worthy of collation with the text, and which throw light upon it, while they support its accuracy. But the cardinal defect of this book is, that though the author seems honestly to strive to justify his hero, (who needed no justification,) whenever it did not interfere with his own monarchical and English prejudices, it is written in a decidedly English tone, uncongenial to the feelings and intellectual associations of the people of this country. His remarks of a political character are often ridiculous in fact, and always unphilosophical in spirit. The Editor of the following sheets, cannot but smile when he perceives on looking over them, that a hasty remark thrown off by him as to the destinies of France, excited by the sneers of this writer, at the tendency of the democratic principle, was prophetic, and must have been fulfilled ere it was printed, to the great consolation of the spirit of Jones, if mortal "blazon" may be to ears *not* "of flesh and blood."

Miss Janette Taylor, a niece of Admiral Jones, arrived in this country some months ago, having in her possession original copies of all the documents which were before the Editor of the biography above commented upon, with others which were not. Though a considerable portion of them had been anticipated in the various publications mentioned, it was evident that

there was no single work of a proper and satisfactory character, from which Americans might gather for themselves what is to be known of the private and public life of one, who must for ever be chronicled as among the first in courage and ability, as well as in point of time, of the heroes who have made the stars and stripes respected upon the ocean; one too, whose chivalric, daring, and independent character, calumny has been aided in assailing, by seeming mystery and prolific romance.

From the manuscripts in Miss Taylor's possession, the present compilation has been made. Public documents have been referred to occasionally, and in two or three instances, Sherburne's Collection has been cited, where the Editor had not certified copies before him. This work has no literary pretensions; and cannot legitimately come, as a literary production, under the examination of critics. It claims only to be the most full and authentic of its kind. Many official letters have of necessity been rejected, the substance and even the phraseology of which is repeated in others; and in some instances, it is perceived, on looking over the sheets, that the latter misfortune has been incurred.

When it is added, that Miss Taylor is only responsible for the authenticity of the correspondence quoted from or inserted, and in no wise for the casual observations of the compiler, all has been stated that is necessary in this preface. It is believed, that the pledge given in the notice to those who may have subscribed for the book has been redeemed.

New York, September 23, 1830.

PAUL JONES.

PART I

JOHN PAUL, afterwards known as the celebrated Chevalier John Paul Jones, was born on the 6th of July, 1747, at Arbigland, in the parish of Kirkbean, and stewartry of Kirkcudbright, in Scotland. The family was originally from the shire of Fife; but it appears that the grandfather of the subject of this memoir kept a garden, the produce of which he sold to the public in Leith. His son, on finishing his apprenticeship, entered as a gardener into the employment of Mr. Craik, of Arbigland, in which he remained until his death in 1767. It is abundantly proved that he was a man of uniformly respectable character, and intelligence. In his profession he exhibited much skill and taste. The English memoir contains the following account of his family, which was furnished by his descendants.

“Shortly after entering into the employment of Mr. Craik, John Paul married Jean Macduff, the daughter of a small farmer in the neighbouring parish of New-Abbey. The Macduffs were a respectable rural race in their own district; and some of them had been small landed proprietors in the parish of Kirkbean, for an immemorial period. Of this marriage there were seven children, of whom John, afterwards known as John Paul Jones, was the fifth: he may indeed be called the youngest, as two children born after him died in infancy. The first-born of the family, William Paul, went abroad early in life, and

finally settled and married in Fredericksburgh, in Virginia. He appears to have been a man of enterprise and judgment. Beyond his early education and virtuous habits he could have derived no advantage from his family ; and, in 1772 or 1773, when he died, still a young man, he left a considerable fortune. Of the daughters, the eldest, Elizabeth, died unmarried ; Janet, the second, married Mr. Taylor, a watchmaker in Dumfries ; and the third, Mary Ann, was twice married, first to a Mr. Young, and afterwards to Mr. Loudon. Of the relations of Admiral Jones, several nieces, and a grand-nephew, now in the United States, still survive."

When John Paul, the fifth of this family, afterwards became the terror of the seas, the hero of a hundred fearful legends, and the subject of admiration and jealousy in the most brilliant courts, it was natural enough that so modest a paternity should neither satisfy the romance of the imaginative, nor the antipathy of the envious and intimidated ; and many stories were current, some assigning to him Mr. Craik, and others an earl of Selkirk, as his father. These weak inventions have long since been exploded, though preserved in the pages of fanciful novelists. In answer to an inquiry of Baron Vander Capellan, in 1779, Jones says, "I never had any obligation to Lord Selkirk, except for his good opinion ; nor does he know me or mine, except by character." This is verified by the whole tenor of the correspondence which we shall have occasion to introduce.

If ever localities might be inferred to have determined the intellectual bias of an individual, the birthplace of John Paul, and the scenery and associations of its vicinity, may be cited as admirably calculated to lay the groundwork for the restless spirit of adventure, an inclination for poetry, and an occasional imaginary longing for solitude, study, and rural retirement, all of which, without any real inconsistency, were subsequently developed in his character.

His father lived near the shores of the Solway, in one of the most picturesque and beautiful points of the Frith. The

favourite pastime of his earliest years was to launch his "fairy frigate" on the waters, and issue commands to his supposed officers and crew. At this time, the town of Dumfries carried on a considerable trade in tobacco with America, the cargoes of which were unshipped at the Carse-thorn, near the mouth of the river Nith, which was not then navigable by foreign vessels. His daily intercourse with seamen here, tended of course to strengthen and confirm his nascent passion. It is also observed that his regard for America, and his willingness to descend with fire and sword, in her cause, upon the shores of his native land, which were thought unnatural, may have had their origin in the conversations of mariners from the discontented colonies.

Certain it is that his disposition to begin his career upon the ocean was so strong, that his friends deemed it proper to yield to it. At the age of twelve, he was bound apprentice to Mr. Younger, a respectable merchant in the American trade, residing at Whitehaven, on the opposite side of Solway Frith. Vulgar invention, in its distorted picture of his life and actions, assumed that he ran away to sea against the will of his relations, a rumour which they always declared to be totally without foundation. Neither then, nor at any subsequent period, was he wanting in affection for them, and solicitude for their welfare. His anxiety for the comforts and respectability of his sisters and their families, was warmly and substantially expressed in his prosperity, and at his death he bequeathed to them all his property.

His education at the parish school of Kirkbean, must of course have been limited, but there is no doubt he improved it to the best advantage. The general correctness of his style and orthography indicate that he had been well instructed in the rudiments of grammar. Notwithstanding his strong relish for active and dangerous adventure, he devoted its intervals to close application to study. While in port, whether abroad or at Whitehaven, during the period of his apprenticeship, he applied himself to learning the theory of navigation, and to other subjects of practical use. Many years after, we find him in one of

his letters, while modestly admitting that much more accomplished seamen might be found than himself, referring to hours of systematic "midnight" study. In the letters written in French, which are in his own hand, the spelling is infinitely more accurate than that of many of his illustrious and titled correspondents. These circumstances show that his mental culture was methodically and well begun: and these habits of mind are not such as belong to a reckless adventurer in quest of mere private emolument or personal fame.

He made his first voyage before he was thirteen, in the *Friendship*, of Whitehaven, Captain Benson, bound for the Rappahannock. His home, while in port, was the house of an elder brother, William, who had married and settled in Virginia. His prepossessions in favour of America, and sympathy with colonial feelings, were here naturally fostered under circumstances calculated to make them keen and enduring; indissolubly connected as they were with his first professional impressions.

The correctness of his conduct, and his extraordinary intelligence and aptitude for acquiring knowledge in naval matters, caused him to be most favourably regarded by his master. Mr. Younger, however, soon found his affairs embarrassed; and was induced, in consequence, to give up Paul's indentures. This license to act for himself, would have been, to a boy whose purposes in living were not in some measure fixed, and whose will was undecided as to the future, a passport to obscurity, if not to disgrace. In Paul's case, it was *sumpta prudenter*. He availed himself of it wisely, having confidence in himself. He obtained the appointment of third mate of the *King George*, of Whitehaven, a vessel engaged in the slave trade. In 1766, he shipped as chief mate, on board the brigantine *Two Friends*, of Kingston, Jamaica, which was engaged in the same traffic. It is said by the friends of Paul, that he became disgusted with the business of stealing human beings, and left the ship on its arrival in the West Indies. Independently of their evidence, which is in every respect entitled to credit, the supposition will be found to be confirmed by the uniform tenor of his correspon-

dence, whenever he speaks of the principles of action* which he asserts to have governed his services and enterprises. And it is fair to infer, that the exhibition of these horrors, at which his feelings revolted, strengthened his love for that liberty in whose cause he afterwards fought ; and for that land which knew how to vindicate the cause of liberty. And he had the means of knowing then and thereafter, why that land suffered under the curse introduced by those whose yoke it was about shaking off ; though it could not shake off the baleful legacy now pointed to as its disgrace, by the ignorant and hireling politicians, or maundering and useless philanthropists of the mother land—that “nursing mother” of convicts and slaves, and “stern rugged nurse” of our pilgrim fathers.

It is stated, at any rate, by those from whom alone any information can be derived, as to Paul’s adventures at this period, that he returned to Scotland from this second slaving-voyage, as a passenger, in the brigantine John, of Kirkeudbright, Captain Macadam commander. On this voyage the captain and mate both died of fever ; and there being no one on board equally capable of navigating the ship, Paul assumed the command, and brought her safe into port. For this service he was appointed by the owners, Currie, Beck, & Co., master and super-cargo.

It appears that Paul sailed for two voyages, as master, in the employment of this firm, and, sometime in the course of the year 1780, found it necessary, in order to preserve his authority and enforce discipline, to punish a man named Mungo Maxwell, borne on the books as carpenter of the vessel. Mungo, being whipped, (as he no doubt deserved to be, according to the practical code which still prevails in the English and American mercantile marine service,) stated to the authorities at Tobago, that his back was sore, and that his feelings were hurt ; both of which representations they seem to have believed

* For which “he drew his sword ;” an expression which he makes use of in all his letters, whenever he speaks of his employment as a naval commander.

in, without feeling themselves called upon to heal the one, or to sooth the other. But it appears that he subsequently instituted a prosecution against Paul in England, which gave the latter some trouble, as will be seen by a letter from him to his mother and sisters, which we shall presently introduce.

There would scarcely be any necessity of mentioning this circumstance at all, were it not that calumny founded upon it one of its grossest charges against him who was afterwards the Chevalier Paul Jones; that he was accused by vulgar rumour of torturing Mungo, by the process of flagellation, in a manner which caused his death; and that his enemies did not disdain to rake up this legend, when he had the glory and the misfortune of exciting the jealousy of the Russian courtiers. All the authentic particulars of the transaction which we can obtain now, are, that being invested with a legitimate authority, which it was more peculiarly necessary for the preservation of the vessel and cargo, on that account, to sustain, Paul punished a sailor for rebellion and sullen impudence; and that the subject of discipline was displeased, as was naturally to be expected. The following are the official documents which Paul thought proper, or found it expedient to procure, in relation to this transaction.

‘Tobago.

“ Before the Honourable Lieutenant-Governor, William Young, Esq. of the island aforesaid, personally appeared James Simpson, Esq. who, being duly sworn upon the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, deposeth and saith, That some time about the beginning of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy, a person in the habit of a sailor came to this deponent (who was at that time Judge Surrogate of the Court of Vice-Admiralty for the island aforesaid) with a complaint against John Paul, (commander of a brigantine then lying in Rockley Bay of the said island,) for having beat the then complainant, (who belonged to the said John Paul’s vessel,) at the same time showing this deponent his shoulders, which had thereon the marks of several stripes, but none that were either

mortal or dangerous, to the best of this deponent's opinion and belief. And this deponent further saith, that he did summon the said John Paul before him, who, in his vindication, alleged that the said complainant had on all occasions proved very ill qualified for, as well as very negligent in, his duty; and also, ~~that~~ he was very lazy and inactive in the execution of his, the said John Paul's lawful commands, at the same time declaring his sorrow for having corrected the complainant. And this deponent further saith, that having dismissed the complaint as frivolous, the complainant, as this deponent believes, returned to his duty. And this deponent further saith, that he has since understood that the said complainant died afterwards on board of a different vessel, on her passage to some of the Leeward Islands, and that the said John Paul (as this deponent is informed) has been accused in Great Britain as the immediate author of the said complainant's death, by means of the said stripes herein before mentioned, which accusation this deponent, for the sake of justice and humanity, in the most solemn manner declares, and believes to be, in his judgment, without any just foundation, so far as relates to the stripes before mentioned, which this deponent very particularly examined. And further this deponent saith not.

“JAMES SIMPSON.

“Sworn before me, this 30th day of
June, 1772, WILLIAM YOUNG.”

“James Eastment, mariner, and late master of the Barcelona packet, maketh oath, and saith, That Mungo Maxwell, carpenter, formerly on board the John, Captain John Paul, master, came in good health on board his, this deponent's said vessel, then lying in Great Rockley Bay, in the island of Tobago, about the middle of the month of June, in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy, in the capacity of a carpenter, aforesaid; that he acted as such in every respect in perfect health for some days after he came on board this deponent's said vessel, the Barcelona packet: after which he was taken ill of a fever and

lowness of spirits, which continued for four or five days, when he died on board the said vessel, during her passage from Tobago to Antigua. And this deponent further saith, that he never heard the said Mungo Maxwell complain of having received any ill usage from the said Captain John Paul; but that he, this deponent, verily believes the said Mungo Maxwell's death was occasioned by a fever and lowness of spirits, as aforesaid, and not by or through any other cause or causes whatsoever.

“JAMES EASTMENT.

“Sworn at the Mansion House, London,
this 30th of January, 1773, before me,
JAMES TOWNSEND, Mayor.”

“These do certify to whom it may concern, that the bearer, Captain John Paul, was two voyages master of a vessel called the John, in our employ in the West India trade, during which time he approved himself every way qualified both as a navigator and supercargo; but as our present firm is dissolved, the vessel was sold, and of course he is out of our employ, all accounts between him and the owners being amicably adjusted. Certified at Kirkcudbright this 1st of April, 1771.

“CURRIE, BECK, & Co.

The following is the letter to his mother and sisters, written more than two years after the affair in question, during which time he must have made other voyages.

“*London, 24th September, 1772.*

“MY DEAR MOTHER AND SISTERS,

“I only arrived here last night from the Grenadas. I have had but poor health during the voyage; and my success in it not having equalled my first sanguine expectations, has added very much to the asperity of my misfortunes, and, I am well assured, was the cause of my loss of health. I am now, however, better, and I trust Providence will soon put me in a way to get bread, and (which is by far my greatest happiness) be

serviceable to my poor but much-valued friends. I am able to give you no account of my future proceedings, as they depend upon circumstances which are not fully determined.

“I have enclosed you a copy of an affidavit made before Governor Young by the Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty of Tobago, by which you will see with how little reason my life has been thirsted after, and, which is much dearer to me, my honour, by maliciously loading my fair character with obloquy and vile aspersions. I believe there are few who are hard-hearted enough to think I have not long since given the world every satisfaction in my power, being conscious of my innocence before Heaven, who will one day judge even my judges. I staked my honour, life, and fortune for six long months on the verdict of a British jury, notwithstanding I was sensible of the general prejudices which ran against me ; but, after all, none of my accusers had the courage to confront me. Yet I am willing to convince the world, if reason and facts will do it, that they have had no foundation for their harsh treatment. I mean to send Mr. Craik a copy properly proved, as his nice feelings will not perhaps be other-ways satisfied ; in the mean time, if you please, you may show him that enclosed. His ungracious conduct to me before I left Scotland I have not yet been able to get the better of. Every person of feeling must think meanly of adding to the load of the afflicted. It is true I bore it with seeming unconcern, but Heaven can witness for me, that I suffered the more on that very account. But enough of this.” * * *

The precise nature of the ungracious conduct of Craik, referred to in the foregoing letter cannot now be explained with precision, but may easily be conjectured. Paul looked up to this gentleman as the former patron of his father, and existing protector of his mother and sisters, with gratitude and deference, and probably with a warmth of respectful regard, which was chilled by the mortifying coldness of a cautious reception, such as it is reasonable to infer he may have met with from Mr. Craik, to whom his conduct had been misrepresented. He had, no doubt, taken it for granted that his own simple statements

would be sufficient to satisfy what he calls the "nice feelings" of that gentleman; in which expectation it would seem that he was disappointed. It is known that Mr. C. subsequently exculpated him from all blame in the affair of Mungo. The following letter appears to have been the last which Paul ever addressed to him.

"St. Georges, Grenada, 5th Aug. 1770.

"SIR,

"Common report here says that my owners are going to finish their connexions in the West Indies as fast as possible. How far this is true, I shall not pretend to judge; but should that really prove the case, you know the disadvantages I must of course labour under.

"These, however, would not have been so great had I been acquainted with the matter sooner, as in that case I believe I could have made interest with some gentlemen here to have been concerned with me in a large ship out of London; and as these gentlemen have estates in this and the adjacent islands, I should have been able to make two voyages every year, and always had a full ship out and home, &c. &c. &c.

"However, I by no means repine, as it is a maxim with me to do my best, and leave the rest to Providence. I shall take no step whatever without your knowledge and approbation.

"I have had several very severe fevers lately, which have reduced me a good deal, though I am now perfectly recovered.

"I must beg you to supply my mother, should she want any thing, as I well know your readiness.

"I hope yourself and family enjoy health and happiness. I am, most sincerely, Sir, your's always,

"JOHN PAUL."

Shortly after this period, Paul commanded the *Betsy* of London, a vessel engaged in the West India trade. He has been accused of being concerned in the smuggling business, which

was at this time carried on to a great extent by those who lived along the shores of the Solway; a charge which he always solemnly denied, and which there is not a particle of evidence to support. On the contrary, the very first entry of licensed goods from England, made in the Isle of Man after it was annexed to the crown, stands in his name in the Custom House books at Douglas, being of the first rum regularly imported there. His commercial speculations in the West Indies were various and extensive. His letters in relation to them, written at different subsequent periods, may in general be more conveniently introduced in their chronological order. In 1771 he saw his relations in Scotland for the last time. In 1773 he went to Virginia, to arrange the affairs of his brother William, who had died childless and intestate. He left funds at Tobago and elsewhere, which the faithlessness of his agents prevented him from realizing as he had expected. He was soon to be called upon to act in the great struggle for liberty, whose coming events were to swallow up in their importance the calculations of private interest.

There can be no doubt that at this time he *thought* he had determined to devote the rest of his life to the peaceful pursuits of agriculture, study, and domestic life; or as he phrases it, in one of his favourite quotations, to "calm contemplation and poetic ease." In his letter to the Countess of Selkirk, in which he affirms that such was his fixed purpose, he also speaks of having been led to "sacrifice not only his favourite scheme of life, but the softer affections of his heart, and his hopes of domestic happiness." We have no data from which to infer that these schemes, affections, and hopes, revolved around any ascertained and existing orb, and centre of attraction; or that Paul felt any more distinct longing than that inspired by the general *besson d'aimer*, proper to his age and imaginative temperament. The latter was vastly different from that given by our modern poets and moralists to their corsairs and pirates, and pilots in disguise. Paul's letters show throughout that he had a sense of moral and religious obligation, tinged with a true chivalric

feeling, such as does not belong to robbers and cut-throats. His early education was in *Scotland*. We find, too, that Thomson was his favourite poet. It is unnecessary, in addition to his own reiterated assertions, to cite the common-places of those who have best studied human nature, and whose remarks have become proverbs,—or parallel cases in real life,—to strengthen our belief that it was his intention at this time to abandon the sea-service; to plant and sow, and reap and gather, in the due seasons of seed time and harvest; to take care of an interesting family; and accept the terms of the curse which a distinguished profligate once thought so dreadful, of “being married, and settled in the country.”

It would, however, be equally unwise to believe, that this dream of “calm contemplation and domestic ease,” would not, under the most favourable circumstances for the encouragement of the illusion, soon have proved its relationship to all the waking and sleeping family of phantasms. Paul was born for excitement and for action; and his rural and pastoral meditations were but the solicited relaxations of the mind, craving them as the body does its natural repose.

It is not unlikely that at this time the details and associations of West India trading voyages seemed disgusting to him. It would appear indeed, from the following passage in a letter already referred to, addressed to the Hon. Robert Morris three years after this period, that his commercial affairs had become temporarily entangled. He says, “I conclude that Mr. Hewes has acquainted you with a very great misfortune which befell me some years ago, and which brought me into North America. I am under no concern whatever, that this, or any other past circumstance of my life, will sink me in your opinion. Since human wisdom cannot secure us from accidents, it is the greatest effort of human wisdom to bear them well.” It is evident from his relations to the distinguished person he was writing to, from the frankness of his language, and his subsequent arrangement of all his obligations, that this “great misfortune” must have been a disappointment in business, on which no shadow of censure

could, without iniquity, be cast. This disappointment, (or one which was connected with it, is probably referred to in the letter inserted below, addressed to a valued friend, Mr. Stuart Mawey of Tobago, just before Jones sailed from Boston, fully commissioned as an officer of the United States.* It must be confessed

* "Boston, 4th May, 1777.

"DEAR SIR,

"After an unprofitable suspense of twenty months, (having subsisted on *fifty pounds only* during that time,) when my hopes of relief were entirely cut off, and there remained no possibility of my receiving wherewithal to subsist upon from my effects in your island, or in England, I at last had recourse to strangers for that aid and comfort which was denied me by those friends whom I had intrusted with my all. The good offices which are rendered to persons in their extreme need, ought to make deep impressions on grateful minds; in my case I feel the truth of that sentiment, and am bound by gratitude, as well as honour, to follow the fortunes of my late benefactors.

"I have lately seen Mr. Sicatton, (late manager on the estates of Arch. Stuart, Esq.) who informed me that Mr. Ferguson had quitted Orange Valley, on being charged with the unjust application of the property of his employers. I have been, and am extremely concerned at this account; I wish to disbelieve it, although it seems too much of a piece with the unfair advantage which, *to all appearance*, he took of me, when he left me in exile for twenty months, a prey to melancholy and want, and withheld my property, without writing a word in excuse for his conduct. Thus circumstanced, I have taken the liberty of sending you a letter of attorney by Captain Cleaveland, who undertakes to deliver it himself, as he goes for Tobago *via* Martinico. You have enclosed a copy of a list of debts acknowledged, which I received from Mr. Ferguson when I saw you last at Orange Valley. You have also a list of debts contracted with me, together with Ferguson's receipt. And there remained a considerable property unsold, besides some best Madeira wine which he had shipped for London. By the state of accounts which I sent to England on my arrival on this continent, there was a balance due to me from the ship *Betsy* of 909*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.* sterling; and in my account with Robert Young, Esq., 29th January, 1773, there appeared a balance in my favour of 281*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* sterling. These sums

that the phrase "a very great misfortune, which brought him into North America," cannot at this time be very clearly explained. It is enough, that no inferences can be drawn from it prejudicial to his character. A very natural irritation after the treatment he had received, will account for the tenor of his expressions in the commencement of the letter from Boston; which an English writer speaks of as being "affecting, from their mixture of recklessness and feeling."*

exceed my drafts and just debts together; so that, if I am fairly dealt with, I ought to receive a considerable remittance from that quarter. You will please to observe, that there were nine pieces of coarse camlets shipped at Cork, *over and above the quantity expressed in the bill of lading*. It seems the shippers, finding their mistake, applied for the goods; and, as I have been informed from Grenada, Mr. Ferguson laid hold of this opportunity to propagate a report that all the goods which I put into his hands were the property of that house in Cork. If this base suggestion hath gained belief, it accounts for all the neglect which I have experienced. But however my connexions are changed, my principles as an honest man of candour and integrity are the same; therefore, should there not be a sufficiency of my property in England to answer my just debts, I declare that it is my first wish to make up such deficiency from my property in Tobago; and were even that also to fall short, I am ready and willing to make full and ample remittances from hence upon hearing from you the true state of my affairs. As I hope my dear mother is still alive, I must inform you that I wish my property in Tobago, or in England, after paying my just debts, to be applied for her support. Your own feelings, my dear sir, make it unnecessary for me to use arguments to prevail with you on this tender point. Any remittances which you may be enabled to make, through the hands of my good friend Captain John Plaince, of Cork, will be faithfully put into her hands; she hath several orphan grand-children to provide for. I have made no apology for giving you this trouble: My situation will, I trust, obtain your free pardon.

"I am always, with perfect esteem, dear Sir, your very obliged, very obedient, and most humble servant,

"J. PAUL JONES.

"STUART MAWEY, Esquire, Tobago."

* Life of Jones, from Sherburne's Collections, page 20. London, Murray, 1825.

His taking possession of his brother's estate, encouraged for the time being his imaginary predilection for still life ; and he looked for sufficient remittances from those to whom he had confided the management of his affairs, to enable him to realize his vision of tranquil seclusion from the bustle of the world. In the latter hope, as has been mentioned, he was disappointed ; and from this reason, if from no other, retirement must have become insufferable to a young man of his temper, at the stirring epoch,

When transatlantic Liberty arose,
Not in the sunshine, and the smile of heaven,
But wrapped in whirlwinds, and begirt with woes.

In every point of view he was then fitted to act the part it fell to his lot to perform in the ensuing drama. Nature had made him a hero ; circumstances had prepared him to command men, and give an emphatic direction to the developement of their energies ; and these qualifications, united with the integrity of his heart and mind, rendered him worthy of co-working with the band of brave spirits who came forth with free and uncorrupted souls, and in the power and majesty of truth, to vindicate the rights which they knew how to exercise, as well as to assert. Though his education as a seaman had been principally in the merchant service, he had sailed frequently in armed vessels ; and how sound his opinions were, acquired by observation or study, on the subject of naval discipline, will appear from his letters to the continental authorities ; while his great practical skill in all his manœuvres and engagements is perhaps more admirable than his daring and desperate courage. One of his English biographers* observes : “ It is singular that during the first years of the American navy, with the exception of Paul Jones, no man of any talent is to be found directing its operations. Had it not been for the exertions of this individual, who was unsupported by fortune or connexion, it is very probable

* Life of Paul Jones, from Sherburne's Collections. London, Murray, 1825.

that the American naval power would have gradually disappeared." These remarks were unquestionably dictated as much by the spirit of national vanity, claiming Jones as a native born British subject, as by a natural partiality of the writer for his hero. Jones had brave men for his compeers, as jealous of honour and of rank as himself, better taught from the advantages of birth, not unskilled in their profession, and who soon became instructed by ambition and experience. The American naval force must have been as certainly created to a necessary extent, as the independence of the colonies, at no distant period, was inevitable. But it was among the extraordinary circumstances, in which the immediate designs of Providence seem developed to the religious mind, that a man of such a temper, and with such peculiar advantages, was sent to aid America on an element in which she was feeble, and her foe, in her fond conceit, omnipotent ; a man, who was able, with a force seemingly contemptible, to strike terror along the coast of the fast-anchored isle, notwithstanding her thousands of wooden walls, and to give to the American flag in foreign seas, a reputation which it has never lost.

In the beginning of the year 1775, as will appear from one of his letters, his immediate pecuniary resources, from the causes he mentions, had almost entirely failed him, and for the two years following, he lived, as he expresses it, "upon fifty pounds." Mere necessity, however, could not have determined his election of an occupation, when he accepted a commission from the Continental Congress. A man who had begun life with nothing but "health and his good spirits" for his patrimony, who, while a mere boy, had known how to obtain profitable employments of much responsibility, and who was now in the incipient prime of mental and bodily vigour, could have been at no loss in investing the capital of his abilities, his credit, and his "fifty pounds," in many speculations, which must, to ordinary minds at this epoch, have seemed far more promising than the cause of the colonists. But his heart was with them, and all his sympathies, and even prejudices, were in unison

with theirs. Since the age of thirteen, when he first saw it, as he himself declares, America had been the country of his fond election. In it, he had laid the scene of his romance of retirement ; and he had now no other home save the ocean. His interest, so far as the strong appetite for renown, to be won by danger, was concerned, was also best served by embarking in the revolutionary cause ; for what promotion could he have obtained, without money or friends, in the navy of Great Britain ? But so far as mere servile and sordid considerations were in question, the world of adventure offered to him a wide market, in which much safer and cheaper bargains might be made, by one who had acquired so much skill in the traffic. It was principle, and not necessity nor accident, which, in connexion with the love of glory, induced him to embark in the cause of liberty.

This point has been dwelt on more at large, because the last English compiler of his memoirs, with very good intentions, speaks of it in an equivocal manner, in his analysis of Paul's motives. He also enters into an unnecessary apology for his consenting to bear arms against the mother country. The following remarks, made by him, are, however, worthy of being quoted here :

“ Though in the heat of a struggle, which, from its very nature, was, like the feuds of the nearest relatives, singularly rancorous and bitter, Jones was branded as a traitor and a felon, and after his most brilliant action, his capture of the *Serapis*, formally denounced by the British ambassador at the Hague as a rebel and a pirate according to the laws of war,* it must be remembered that he bore this stigma in common with the best and greatest of his contemporaries—with Franklin and Washington ; which last had actually borne arms in the service of the king of England. The memory of Paul Jones now needs little

* Memorial of Sir Joseph Yorke to the States-General, dated the Hague, 8th October, 1779.

vindication for this important step. After the peace he enjoyed the esteem and private friendship of Englishmen who might have forgiven the most imbibtered political hostility, but never could have overlooked a taint on personal honour. Of this number was the Earl of Wemyss, who after the peace endeavoured to promote the views of Jones on various occasions. He himself, however, discovers a lurking consciousness of having incurred, if not of meriting, suspicion on this delicate ground. This is chiefly displayed by his eloquent though rather frequent assertions of purity of motive, superiority to objects of sordid interest, and disinterested zeal for the cause, now of America, now of human nature, as was best adapted to the supposed inclinations of his correspondents. In ordinary circumstances, much of this might have appeared uncalled for; but the situation of Jones was in many respects peculiar both as a native-born Briton, and as a man of obscure origin, jealous—and pardonably so—of his independence and dignity of character. Somewhat of the heroic vaunting which marks other parts of his correspondence appears incident to the enthusiastic temperament of many great naval commanders. How would Nelson's tone of confident prediction, and boasts of prowess, have sounded from the lips of an inferior man? In any other than himself, the customary language of Drake would have been reckoned that of an insolent braggart."

The English editor is right in referring to the obscurity of Paul's origin, and the consequent nature of his early education, as one cause of the quaintness and inartificial "heroic vaunting" of style, which often strikes us in his letters. The example he produces of other great men, who occasionally exhibited the same bad taste, are illustrious and pertinent. But as to any squeamishness which Paul may have felt or expressed, on the score of his being born on the soil, as well as under the allegiance of Great Britain, we find no evidence in his correspondence which is not directly against the suggestion. He fought for his adopted country, the land of his friendships and affection; and his fame should not be tarnished without cause, by

supposing that any compunctious visitings disturbed him in his career, other than those natural to the best and bravest men who have served in the cause of human freedom. Writing to Baron Vander Capellan, some years after the conflict began, he says, in a spirit of bitterness, provoked by his being stigmatized as a pirate, rebel, &c. in the British prints :

“ I was indeed born in Britain ; but I do not inherit the degenerate spirit of that fallen nation, which I at once lament and despise. It is far beneath me to reply to their hireling invectives. They are strangers to the inward approbation that greatly animates and rewards the man who draws his sword only in support of the dignity of freedom. America has been the country of my fond election from the age of thirteen, when I first saw it. I had the honour to hoist with my own hands the flag of freedom, the first time it was displayed on the Delaware ; and I have attended it with veneration ever since, on the ocean.”

At the time when Paul settled, (or more properly, supposed he meant to settle,) in Virginia, it would seem that he assumed the additional surname of Jones. Previous to this date, his letters are signed John Paul. We are left to conjecture the reason of this arbitrary change. His relations were never able to assign one ; there is no allusion to the circumstance in the manuscripts which he left, and tradition is silent on the subject. It was, however, a caprice by no means singular in a sea-faring man. It is mentioned in the biographical sketch written for the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, by Dr. Duncan, of Scotland, that the custom of taking the father's Christian name as a patronymic, was not prevalent in the immediate vicinity of Paul's birthplace. But it was common in Wales, the Isle of Man, and other parts, with which he was as familiarly acquainted. It does not seem to be, in the language of logicians, “drawing a long inference,” to suppose, that in adopting a country where he meant to establish his household gods, and be the father of his own line, he chose to assume a new name, which he had such warrant for doing, and which should be his own,

and that of his descendants. His retaining that by which he had been always known, proves that he did not consider it to have been sullied. It is only because calumny and invention have been busy with the topic, that it seems proper to suggest a plausible explanation for this change.

It is not within the province of this narrative to sketch the early history of the American navy, or its operations during the revolutionary war, except where Jones was connected with them. Of these he is his own historian. With the view of cutting off the supplies sent in store ships to Boston, then in possession of the British, and in a state of blockade,—of obtaining powder and the munitions of war, which were not to be had in the colonies,—and of retaliating for depredations committed by British emissaries along the coast, the General Court of Massachusetts on the 13th November, 1775, passed an act authorizing letters of marque and reprisal to be issued against ships infesting the sea-coast of America, and elected courts to try and condemn such as should be captured. General Washington, as Commander in Chief, gave commissions to a number of vessels, to intercept the supplies intended for Boston. Privateers swarmed in the Bay of Boston, and off the neighbouring sea-coast. Instances of gallant and ingenious enterprises were numerous, and the names of those by whom they were conducted will be entitled to a place in our national history. On the 13th of December, 1775, the Continental Congress adopted a report of the Committee appointed to devise ways and means for fitting out a naval armament; in which it was recommended that thirteen frigates should be got ready for sea; five to be of thirty-two guns, five of twenty-eight, and three of twenty-four. They also commissioned a small fleet collected in the Delaware to cruise against the enemy, and passed the following resolution:

“In Congress, 22nd Dec. 1775.

“Resolved, that the following naval officers be appointed:

Ezek. Hopkins, Esq. Commander in Chief of the fleet.

Dudley Saltonstall, Captain of the Alfred.

Abraham Whipple, do. Columbus.

Nicholas Biddle, do. Andrew Doria.

John B. Hopkins, do. Cabot.

“1st Lieutenants, John Paul Jones, Rhodes Arnold, Stansbury, Hersted Hacker, Jonathan Pitcher.

“2d Lieutenants, Benjamin Seabury, Joseph Olney, Elisha Warner, Thomas Weaver, — M'Dougall.

“3d Lieutenants, John Fanning, Ezekiel Burroughs, Daniel Vaughan.

“Resolved, that the pay of the Commander in Chief of the fleet be one hundred and twenty-five dollars per month.”

To this small fleet was added the sloop Providence, the command of which Jones declined for the reasons stated in his narrative, which we shall presently follow. The force consisted of the Alfred, Commodore Hopkins, 30 guns and 300 men; Columbus, Whipple, 28 guns and 300 men; Andrew Doria, Biddle, 16 guns and 200 men; Sebastian Cabot, Hopkins, Jun. 14 guns and 200 men; and the Providence, Hazard, 12 guns and 150 men. The flag of America was hoisted by Jones, as he records, being the first time it was displayed, on board of the Alfred, of which he was first-lieutenant. He does not mention the date of this transaction, which it would be extremely interesting to ascertain; nor has the present compiler been able to fix it. His commission to act as lieutenant bore date on the 7th December. The squadron was originally destined to act against Lord Dunmore, who was committing acts of outrage and depredation along the coast of Virginia. The navigation of the Delaware was, however, interrupted by the ice, and the fleet did not leave Cape Henlopen until the 17th of February, 1776. The most succinct and clear account of this period of his service is given by Jones in the commencement of a Journal, drawn up at the request of the king of France, and read by that unfortunate monarch when he was a prisoner. It is as follows

“ When Congress thought fit to equip a naval force towards the conclusion of the year 1775, ‘*for the defence of American liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof,*’ it was a very difficult matter to find men fitly qualified for officers, and willing to embark in the ships and vessels that were then put into commission. The American navy at first was no more than the ships Alfred and Columbus, the brigantines Andrew Doria, and Cabot, and the sloop Providence.* A commander in chief of the fleet was appointed; and the Captains Saltonstall, Whipple, Biddle, and Hopkins, were named for the ships and brigantines. A captain’s commission for the Providence, [bought, or to be bought, about the time, from Captain Whipple,]† which Mr. Joseph Hewes of the Marine Committee offered to his friend Mr. John Paul Jones, was not accepted, because Mr. Jones had never sailed in a sloop, and had then no idea of the declaration of independence that took place the next year. It was his early wish to do his best for the cause of America, which he considered as the cause of human nature. He could have no object of self-interest; and having then no prospect that the American navy would soon become an established service, that *rank* was the most acceptable to him by which he could be the most useful in that moment of public calamity. There were three classes of lieutenants appointed, and Mr. Jones was appointed‡ the first of the first-lieutenants, which placed him next in command to the four captains already mentioned. This commission under the united colonies is dated the 7th day of December, 1775, as first-lieutenant of the Alfred. On board of that ship, before Philadelphia, Mr. Jones hoisted the flag of America with his own hands, the first time it was ever displayed, as the commander in chief embarked on board the Alfred. All the commissions for

* In the MSS. copy before me several corrections occur in Jones’ own hand writing. Some are not material. In the passage above he has overlined “Ezek. Hopkins, Esq. was appointed, &c.”

† The words in brackets are erased in the copy above mentioned.

‡ “Commissioned” as altered by Jones.

the *Alfred* were dated before the commissions for the *Columbus*, &c. All the time this little squadron was fitting and manning, Mr. Jones superintended the affairs of the *Alfred*; and as Captain Saltonstall did not appear at Philadelphia, the commander in chief told Mr. Jones he should command that ship. A day or two before the squadron sailed from Philadelphia, innanned and fit for sea, Captain Saltonstall appeared, and took command of the *Alfred*. The object of the first expedition was against Lord Dunmore in Virginia. But instead of proceeding immediately on that service, the squadron was hauled to the wharfs at Reedy Island, and lay there for six weeks frozen up. Here Mr. Jones and the other lieutenants stood the deck, watch and watch, night and day, to prevent desertion; and they lost no man from the *Alfred*. On the 17th of February, 1776, the squadron sailed from the Bay of Delaware, having been joined the day before by a small sloop and a very small schooner from Baltimore. On the 1st of March the squadron anchored at Abaco, one of the Bahama Islands, and carried in there two sloops belonging to New Providence. Some persons on board the sloops, informed that a quantity of powder and warlike stores might be taken in the forts of New Providence. An expedition was determined on against that island. It was resolved to embark the marines on board the two sloops. They were to remain below deck until the sloops had anchored in the harbour close to the forts, and they were then to land and take possession. There was not a single soldier in the island to oppose them; therefore the plan would have succeeded, and not only the public stores might have been secured, but a considerable contribution might have been obtained as a ransom for the town and island, had not the whole squadron appeared off the harbour in the morning, instead of remaining out of sight till after the sloops had entered and the marines secured the forts. On the appearance of the squadron the signal of alarm was fired, so that it was impossible to think of crossing the bar. The commander in chief proposed to go round the west end of the island,

and endeavour to march the marines up and get behind the town; but this could never have been effected. The islanders would have had time to collect; there was no fit anchorage for the squadron, nor road from that part of the island to the town. Mr. Jones finding by the Providence pilots that the squadron might anchor under a key three leagues to windward of the harbour, gave this account to the commander in chief, who objecting to the dependence on the pilots, Mr. Jones undertook to carry the *Alfred* safe in. He took the pilot with him to the fore-topmast-head, from whence they could clearly see every danger, and the squadron anchored safe. The marines, with two vessels to cover their landing, were immediately sent in by the east passage. The commander in chief promised to touch no private property. The inhabitants abandoned the forts, and the governor, finding he must surrender the island, embarked all the powder in two vessels, and sent them away in the night. This was foreseen, and might have been prevented, by sending the two brigantines to lie off the bar. The squadron entered the harbour of New Providence, and sailed from thence the 17th of March, having embarked the cannon, &c. that was found in the fort. In the night of the 9th of April, on the return of the squadron from the Providence expedition, the American arms by sea were first tried in an action with the *Glasgow*, a British frigate of 24 guns, off Block Island. Both the *Alfred* and *Columbus* mounted two batteries. The *Alfred* mounted 30, the *Columbus* 28 guns. The first battery was so near the water as to be fit for nothing except in a harbour or a very smooth sea. The sea was at the time perfectly smooth. Mr. Jones was stationed between decks to command the *Alfred's* first battery, which was well served whenever the guns could be brought to bear on the enemy, as appears by the official letter of the commander in chief giving an account of that action. Mr. Jones therefore did his duty; and as he had no direction whatever, either of the general disposition of the squadron, or the sails and helm of the *Alfred*, he can stand charged with no

part of the disgrace of that night.* The squadron steered directly for New London, and entered that port two days after the action. Here General Washington lent the squadron 200 men, as was thought, for some enterprise. The squadron, however, stole quietly round to Rhode Island, and up the river to Providence. Here a court-martial was held for the trial of Captain Whipple, for not assisting in the action with the Glasgow.† Another court-martial was held for the trial of Captain Hazard, who had been appointed captain of the sloop Providence at Philadelphia, some time after Mr. Jones had refused that command. Captain Hazard was broke, and rendered incapable of serving in the navy. The next day, the 10th of May, 1776, Mr. Jones was ordered by the commander in chief to take command '*as captain of the Providence.*' This proves that Mr. Jones did his duty on the Providence expedition. As the commander in chief had in his hands no blank-commission, this appointment was written and signed on the back of the commission that Mr. Jones had received at Philadelphia the 7th of December, 1775. Captain Jones had orders to receive on board the Providence the soldiers that had been borrowed from General Washington, and to carry them to New York, there enlist as many seamen as he could, and then return to New London, to take in from the hospital all the seamen that had been left there by the squadron, and were recovered, and carry them to Providence. Captain Jones soon performed these services; and having hove down the sloop and partly fitted her for war at Providence, he received orders from the commander in chief, dated Rhode Island, June 10th, 1776, to come immediately down to take a sloop then in sight, armed for war, belonging to the enemy's navy. Captain Jones obeyed orders with alacrity; but the enemy had disappeared before he reached

* In the margin, in Jones' hand writing: "It is for the commander in chief and the captains, to answer for the escape of the Glasgow."

† He excused himself because "the firing of the ships engaged had killed the wind."
Marginal note by Jones.

Newport. On the 13th of June, 1776, Captain Jones received orders, dated that day at Newport, Rhode Island, from the commander in chief, to proceed to Newburyport to take under convoy some vessels bound for Philadelphia; but first to convoy Lieutenant Hacker in the *Fly*, with a cargo of cannon, into the sound for New York, and to convoy some vessels back from Stonington to the entrance of Newport. In performing these last services, Captain Jones found great difficulty from the enemy's frigates, then cruising round Block Island, with which he had several rencontres; in one of which he saved a brigantine that was a stranger, from Hispaniola, closely pursued by the *Cerberus*, and laden with public military stores. That brigantine was afterwards purchased by the Continent, and called the *Hampden*. Captain Jones received orders from the commander in chief to proceed for Boston instead of Newburyport. At Boston he was detained a considerable time by the backwardness of the agent. He arrived with his convoy from Boston, safe in the *Delaware*, the 1st of August, 1776. This service was performed while the enemy were arriving daily at Sandy Hook from Halifax and England, [under the escort and protection of Lord Howe,]* and Captain Jones saw several of their ships of war [which he had the address to avoid.] Captain Jones received a captain's commission [under the United States of America,] from the president of Congress the 8th of August.†

* Interlined by Jones.

† The Commission of Jones was made out, according to Mr Sherburne, on the same day on which the relative rank of the Captains was established by Congress. It was as follows:

“IN CONGRESS.

“*The Delegates of the United States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, To*

“JOHN PAUL JONES, ESQ.

“WE, reposing especial trust and confidence in your patriotism, valour, conduct, and fidelity, DO, by these Presents, constitute and appoint you to be Captain in the navy of the United States of North America, fitted out for the defence of American

"It was proposed to Captain Jones by the Marine Committee of Congress to go to Connecticut, to command the brigantine *Hampden*; but he choosing rather to remain in the sloop *Providence*, had orders to go out on a cruise against the enemy "for six weeks, [or] two or three months." He was not limited to any particular station or service. He left the *Delaware* the 21st of August, and arrived at Rhode Island on the 7th of October, 1776. Captain Jones had only seventy men when he sailed from the *Delaware*, and the *Providence* mounted only 12 four-pounders. Near the latitude of Bermudas he had a very narrow escape from the enemy's frigate the *Solebay*, after a chase [and an engagement] for six hours within cannon-shot, and considerable part of that time within pistol-shot. Afterwards, near the Isle of Sable, Captain Jones had a running fight with the enemy's frigate the *Milford*; and the firing between them lasted from ten in the morning till after sunset. The day after this rencontre, Captain Jones entered the harbour of Canso, where he recruited several men, took the tories' flags, destroyed all the fishery, burned the shipping, &c. and sailed again the next morning on an expedition against the Island of Madame. He made two descents at the principal ports of that island at the same time; surprised, burned, and destroyed all

Liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of Captain, by doing and performing all manner of things thereunto belonging. And we do strictly charge and require all officers, marines, and seamen under your command to be obedient to your orders as Captain. And you are to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time, as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of the United States, or committee of Congress for that purpose appointed, or commander in chief for the time being of the navy of the United States, or any other your superior officer, according to the rules and discipline of War, the usage of the sea, and the instructions herewith given you, in pursuance of the trust reposed in you. This Commission to continue in force, until revoked by this or a future Congress.

"Dated at Philadelphia, October 10th, 1776.

"By order of the Congress,

"JOHN HANCOCK, *President*

"Attest, CHARLES THOMPSON, *Secretary.*"

their shipping, and the fishery, though the place abounded with men, and they had arms. All this, from the Delaware to Rhode Island, was performed in six weeks and five days; in which time Captain Jones made sixteen prizes, besides a great number of small vessels and fishery which he destroyed. The commander in chief of the navy was at Rhode Island, who, in consequence of the information given him by Captain Jones, adopted an expedition against the coal fleet of Cape Breton and the fishery, as well as to relieve a number of Americans from the coal mines, where they were compelled to labour by the enemy. The Alfred had remained idle ever since the Providence expedition, and was without men. It was proposed to employ that ship, the brigantine Hampden, and sloop Providence, on this expedition, under the command of Captain Jones, who had orders given him for that purpose on the 22d October, 1776, and then removed from the sloop Providence to command the ship Alfred. Finding he could not enlist a sufficient number of men for the three sail before the season would be lost, Captain Jones determined to leave the sloop Providence behind; but Captain Hacker ran the Hampden upon a ledge of rocks on the 27th, and knocked off her keel, which obliged Captain Jones to remove him into the sloop Providence. The Alfred and Providence sailed together on this expedition the 2d of November, 1776, Captain Jones having only 140 men on his muster-roll for the Alfred, though that ship had 235 men when she left the Delaware. Captain Jones* anchored for the night at 'Tarpawling Cove, near Nantucket. Finding there a privateer schooner belonging to Rhode Island inward-bound, he sent his boat to search for deserters from the navy. His officers found four deserters carefully concealed on board. They were taken on board the Alfred, with a few other seamen, agreeably to *orders from the commander in*

* [Passed between the enemies' frigates at Block Island and the shore, and anchored for the night at Tarpawling Cove, near Nantucket, because daylight was necessary to pass through the shoals.] *Corrected by Jones.*

chief. The concerned in the privateer brought an action against Captain Jones for 10,000*l.* damages, and the commander in chief had the politeness not to support him. Captain Jones proceeded on his expedition. Off Louisbourg he took a brig with a rich cargo of dry goods, a snow with a cargo of fish, and a large ship called the Mellish, bound for Canada, armed for war, and laden with soldiers' clothing. The day after taking these prizes, (the 18th November,) the snow fell, and the wind blew fresh off Cape Breton. To prevent separation, and not from the violence of the weather, Captain Jones made the signal to lay to, which was obeyed; but as soon as the night began, Captain Hacker bore away. He made shift to arrive at Rhode Island a day or two before the place was taken by the enemy. Captain Jones ordered his prizes, the brigantine and the snow, to steer for American ports; but determined not to lose sight of the Mellish, unless in case of necessity. Captain Jones, after that little gale and some contrary winds, fell in with Canso, and sent his boats in to destroy a fine transport that lay aground in the entrance, laden with Irish provision. The party burnt also the oil-warehouse, and destroyed the materials for the whale and cod fishery.

"Off Louisbourg, on the 24th November, he took three fine ships out of the coal-fleet, then bound for New York, under the convoy of the frigate *Flora*, that would have been in sight had the fog been dispersed. Two days after this, Captain Jones took a strong letter-of-marque ship with a rich cargo, from Liverpool. He had now a hundred and fifty prisoners on board the *Alfred*, and a great part of his water and provision was consumed. He found by his prisoners that the harbour at the coal-mines was frozen up, and necessity obliged him to seek a hospitable port with the five prize-ships under his convoy. No separation took place till the 7th of December, on the edge of St. George's Bank, where Captain Jones again fell in with the *Milford* frigate. Captain Jones [drew the whole attention of the enemy towards the *Alfred*, and thereby] had the address [by running the greatest risk himself,] to save all his prizes ex-

cept one, (the letter-of-marque from Liverpool,) and that one would not have been taken, had not the prize-master, who was three leagues to windward, foolishly run down under the Milford's lee. The Mellish arrived safe with the clothing at Dartmouth, in consequence of orders from Captain Jones, to pass within Nantucket shoals; and Captain Jones, after meeting with much tempestuous weather arrived at Boston the 15th December, 1776, having only two days' water and provision left. The news of the supply of clothing reached General Washington's army just before he re-crossed the Delaware, and took the enemy's garrison at Trenton. By a letter from the commander in chief of the Navy, dated on board the Warren, at Providence, January the 14th, 1777, Captain Jones was superseded in the command of the Alfred, in favour of Captain Hinman, who said he brought a commission from Congress to supersede that of Captain Jones. On the 21st of January, 1777, this drew from Captain Jones a letter to the Marine Committee of Congress, stating his hopes that Congress would not so far overlook his early and faithful services as to supersede him by any man who was at first his junior officer, far less by any man who declined to serve in the Alfred, &c. at the beginning. Captain Jones paid off the crews of the Alfred and Providence, for which he has never been reimbursed.* On the 18th February, Captain Jones received an appointment by order of Congress from the Hon. Robert Morris, Esq. Vice President of the Marine Committee, dated Philadelphia, February the 5th, 1777, to command private expeditions against Pensacola and other places, with the Alfred, Columbus, Cabot, Hampden, and sloop Providence. Many important schemes were pointed out;† but Captain Jones was left at free liberty to adopt whatever he thought best. This appointment fell to nothing; for the com-

* "Was not reimbursed until the end of the war, and then without any interest."
Corrected by Jones.

† "Some of which Captain Jones had suggested to Mr. Morris; and others that Mr. Morris had judiciously imagined himself." *Ib.*

mander in chief would not assist Captain Jones, but affected to disbelieve his appointment. Captain Jones made a journey by land from Boston to Philadelphia, in order to explain matters to Congress in person."

There are two other documents written by Jones, recapitulating in a much more summary manner, the events of the cruises in which he was engaged during the time passed over in the foregoing extract. One of these is a letter or memorial, addressed to the President of Congress, written from the Texel, December 7th, 1779, which he elsewhere styles "a refreshing memorial;" the other, a letter addressed to Mr. Morris, Minister of the Marine, &c. dated Philadelphia, October 13th, 1783.* The narrative drawn up for the king of France, is by far the most precise; on which account it has been introduced. It will be necessary, however, to revert to some of its details, for the purposes of illustrating the circumstances it records, and explaining the subsequent passages in the history of Jones.

The affair at New Providence is described in the journal with more accuracy than in any other account extant, which the compiler has seen. The governor had privately sent off from Nassau one hundred and fifty barrels of powder from Fort Nassau. A quantity of cannons, brass mortars, shot, and shells, were taken away; and the governor and two more gentlemen were carried off as prisoners.

The partial engagement with the Glasgow is briefly alluded to. Jones felt that no glory was gained by it, and such was the, perhaps, unreasonable opinion of the American public, at the time. Commodore Hopkins alleged in his justification, that if he had pursued the escaping frigate, it might have brought him into an engagement with the whole of Wallace's fleet, then committing great depredation on the coast of Rhode Island.†

* A letter is published in Mr. Sherburne's Collections, dated Philadelphia, Sept. 22d, 1782, containing portions of the very long letter found in Jones' letter books, dated as in the text.

† Clarke's Naval History of the United States, page 17.

As Jones observes, in his marginal manuscript note, it was the business of the commander and captains to answer for the escape of the frigate ; yet a sensibility, not unallied, perhaps, to a premature and morbid apprehension that censure would light upon himself, caused him always to speak of this affair as if his personal conduct stood in need of exculpation. Such is the temperament of those who feel that they are "born to achieve greatness ;" the exhibition of which, until their vision is realized, is laid to the score of personal vanity. In the letter to the President of Congress, last referred to, Jones says : "I continued in that ship, (the Alfred,) and had my share of the dishonour which attended the first essay of American arms by sea, with the Glasgow. Permit me however to observe, that as I was stationed to command the lower battery of the Alfred, I had no share in the government of the sails or helm ; and as the artillery under my direction was well served, whenever it could be brought to bear, I hope Congress will not find that the disgrace of that night was owing to me." Writing to Mr. Hewes, shortly after the transaction, he says : "My station confined me to the Alfred's lower gun-deck, where I commanded during the action ; yet, though the commander's letter, which has been published, says, 'all the officers in the Alfred behaved well,' still the public blames me among others for not taking the enemy. But a little consideration will place the matter in a true light ; for no officer, under a superior, who does not stand charged, by that superior, for cowardice or misconduct, can be blamed on any occasion whatever."

It is to be observed, that while thus disavowing any responsibility, as a subaltern, Jones by no means imputes blame to Commodore Hopkins. He says, in his letter to Mr. Hewes ; "I have the pleasure of assuring you that the commander in chief is respected throughout the fleet ; and I verily believe that the officers and men, in general, would go any length to execute his orders." In the same letter he refers to the minutes of the action with the Glasgow, as entered by himself on the Alfred's

log-book, which are copied, as follows, in Mr. Sherburne's Collections.

“ At 2 A. M. cleared ship for action. At half past two, the Cabot being between us and the enemy, began to engage, and soon after we did the same. At the third glass, the enemy bore away, and by crowding sail at length got a considerable way a-head, made signals for the rest of the English fleet at Rhode Island to come to her assistance, and steered directly for the harbour. The Commodore then thought it imprudent to risk our prizes, &c. by pursuing farther; therefore, to prevent our being decoyed into their hands, at half past 6 made the signal to leave off chase and haul by the wind to join our prizes. The Cabot was disabled at the second broadside; the captain being dangerously wounded, the master and several men killed. The enemy's whole fire was then directed at us, and an unlucky shot having carried away our wheel-block and ropes, the ship broached to, and gave the enemy an opportunity of raking us with several broadsides before we were again in condition to steer the ship and return the fire. In the action we received several shot under water, which made the ship very leaky; we had besides, the mainmast shot through, and the upper works and the rigging very considerably damaged; yet it is surprising that we only lost the 2d lieutenant of marines and four men, one of whom, (Martin Gillingwater,) was a midshipman, prisoner, who was in the cockpit, and had been taken in the bomb brig Bolton yesterday; we had no more than three men dangerously and four slightly wounded.”*

* In the 87th number of the “Constitutional Gazette,” published in New York, May 29th, 1776, is a statement of Captain David Hawley, who had arrived at Hartford, from Halifax, whence he had escaped, having been a prisoner on board the Glasgow during the skirmish in question. He says that, “on the —th of April, the Glasgow sailed from Newport; in the morning of the 6th discovered sundry sail, and stood for them; came up and hailed the brig, who answered that they

The adventure with the Glasgow cannot, from the evidence now left, be considered as discreditable to the infant navy of America. The promotion of Jones, by the commander in chief of the navy, to be acting commandant of the Providence, proves, as he states himself, that the officer under whose command he had immediately served approved of his conduct. While conveying military stores and troops between Newport and New York, he appears from his journal to have had several rencontres with the Cerberus frigate and with others. Mr. Clarke,

were from Plymouth ; then the brig hailed the Glasgow, and was told who they were. Upon signals being made and not answered, as it was still dark, the Glasgow received a heavy broadside from the brig, killed one man, and slightly wounded another. Then the Alfred came up, and closely engaged her for near three glasses, while the black brig attacked the Glasgow on her lee bow. It was observed by the motion of the Alfred, that she had received some unlucky shot. The sloop of twelve guns fired upon her stern without any great effect. The most of her shot went about six feet above the deck ; whereas, if they had been properly levelled, they must soon have cleared it of men. The Glasgow got at a distance, when she fired smartly ; and the engagement lasted about six glasses, when they both seemed willing to quit. The Glasgow was considerably damaged in her hull ; had ten shot through her mainmast, fifty-two through her mizen staysail, one hundred and ten through her mainsail, and eighty-eight through her foresail ; had her spars carried away, and her rigging cut to pieces. On the 6th they got into Rhode Island ; early in the morning of the 7th, were fired upon from the shore, cut her cables, and run up to Hope Island, where the hospital ship followed them. The wind shifting to the northward, they went out and joined Commodore Wallace, and after two days sailed for Halifax, where Captain Hawley tarried a fortnight, and on the 7th of April, made his escape with eight others, in a small boat, and came to Old York."

The seventy-fifth number of the same newspaper, of April 17th, 1776, contains the following account under date of Newport, April 8th, which throws light upon the result of the affair with the Glasgow, and from its quaintness may not be uninteresting.

in his Naval History speaks of two "engagements" with the former vessel. Jones does not appear to have deemed them worthy of commemoration in his narrative and letter books. In his "refreshing memorial" to the President of Congress, written from the Texel, he says, when speaking of this period of his service; "The first service I performed in the Providence was to transport a number of soldiers from Providence to New York, which General Washington had lent us at New London to inspire us with courage to venture round to Rhode Island.

"Last Friday the ministerial fleet went a little without the mouth of our harbour, and in the evening they all returned and anchored between Gould island and Coddington's Point, except the Glasgow, of twenty-four guns, and a small tender, which kept out all night. As soon as it was light, the next morning, a party of the troops stationed on the island got down two of their 18 pounders upon the point, and played so well upon these worse than Algerine rovers, that they hulled the Rose two or three times, the Nautilus once or twice, and sent a shot through and through one of the armed tenders, upon which Captain Wallace, of the Rose, sent off a boat to cut away the buoy of his anchor, then slipped his cable, and made off as fast as possible; and the rest of his fleet followed in the utmost hurry and confusion, having fired about fifteen cannon upon our people without the least effect, though they stood in considerable numbers, as open as they could well be, without the least breast-work or other shelter.

"For several hours before, and during the above engagement, a vast number of cannon were heard from the S. E. and about sunrise eight or ten sail of ships, brigs, &c. were seen a little to the eastward of Block island, and indeed the flashes of the cannon were seen by some people about daybreak. These things caused much speculation, but in a few hours the mystery was somewhat cleared up, for away came the poor Glasgow, under all the sail she could set, yelping from the mouths of her cannon like a broken legged dog, as a signal of her being sadly wounded. And though she settled away, and handed most of her sails just before she came into the harbour, it was plainly perceived by the holes in those she had standing, and by the hanging of her yards, that she had been treated in a very rough manner. The other

The Commodore employed me afterwards for some time to escort vessels from Rhode Island into the Sound, &c. while the *Cerberus* and other vessels cruised round Block Island. At last I received orders to proceed to Boston, to take under convoy some vessels laden with coal for Philadelphia. I performed that service about the time when Lord Howe arrived at Sandy Hook. It was proposed to send me from Philadelphia by land to take command of the *Hampden* in Connecticut, but I rather preferred to continue in the *Providence*, the *Hampden* being a far inferior vessel to the description that had been given of her to Congress."

He was commissioned to sail from the Delaware on a cruise, "with unlimited orders," as he expresses it in his memorial ;

vessels seen off stood up the western sound, and by very authentic intelligence received on Saturday evening, we are fully convinced they were twelve sail of the Continental navy, very deeply laden with cannon, mortars, cannon-shot, bombs, and other warlike stores from the West Indies, so that it is probable their precious cargoes were the sole cause of Mrs. Glasgow's making her escape. Her tender was taken, as also the bomb brig, and a schooner which had been out near a week in search of prey.

"As soon as the Glasgow got in, the *Rose*, Captain Wallace, the *Nautilus*, Captain Collins, the *Swan*, Captain Ascough, with several tenders, and pirated prizes, stood out to sea, leaving the Glasgow, a large snow, and two small sloops at anchor, about three quarters of a mile from Brenton's point. The ensuing night, a party of troops carried one eighteen pounder, one nine, one six, and two four pounders, on said point, and early yesterday morning saluted the Glasgow with such warmth that she slipped her cable and pushed up the river without firing a gun, under all the sail she could make, and the others followed with great precipitation. By the terrible cracking on board the Glasgow, the noise and confusion among her men, it is thought the cannon did good execution. The wind shifting to the northward about noon, those vessels ran down the back of Conanicut and stood out to sea, supposed to have gone in quest of Captain Wallace, to make a woful complaint of the incivility of the Yankees."

and this was certainly the sort of trust which he best loved to execute. Some extracts from his letters to the marine committee of Congress, relative to his adventures in this cruise of "six weeks and five days," so briefly mentioned in his journal, will probably be acceptable to the reader.

*" Providence, at sea, in N. Lat. 37° 40',
S. W. Longitude, 54°, Sept. 4th, 1776.*

" GENTLEMEN,

" I had the honour of writing to you the 27th August, per the brigantine *Brittannia*, which I sent under the care of Lieutenant Wm. Grinnell. Since that, I have been to the southward, near the parallel of Bermuda, and brought to four sail of French, Spanish, and Danish ships, homeward bound, but without gaining any useful information. On the first current, I fell in with a fleet of five sail, one of them being very large, it was the general opinion here, that she was either an old Indiaman, outward bound, with stores, or a Jamaica three-decker, bound homewards. We found her to be an English frigate, mounting twenty guns upon one deck. She sailed fast, and pursued us by the wind, till, after four hours chase, the sea running very cross, she got within musket shot of our lee-quarter. As they had continued firing at us from the first, without showing colours, I now ordered ours to be hoisted, and began to fire at them. Upon this, they also hoisted American colors, and fired guns to leeward. But the bait would not take, for, having every thing prepared, I bore away before the wind, and set all our light sail at once; so that, before her sails could be trimmed, and steering sails set, I was almost out of reach of grape, and soon after out of reach of cannon shot. Our 'hair-breadth escape,' and the saucy manner of making it, must have mortified him not a little. Had he foreseen this motion, and been prepared to counteract it, he might have fired several broadsides of double-headed and grape shot, which would have done us very material damage. But he was a bad marksman; and, though within pistol shot, did not touch the *Providence* with one of the many

shots he fired.* I met with no other adventure till last night, when I took the Bermuda built brigantine Sea Nymph, &c."

He concludes this letter by observing that he did not expect much success in his cruise, as it was too late for the season; a remark which he repeats in his next letter, dated three days after, when sending in the brigantine Favourite laden with sugar, from Antigua, for Liverpool, which he had captured on the evening of September 6th, being his third prize.

The following characteristic letter, giving an account of the manner in which he *ridiculed* the Milford frigate, (as he expresses it in a subjoined *précis* of his cruise,) and took or destroyed the shipping in Canso Harbour, seems worthy of being inserted entire.

" *Providence off the Isle of Sable, 30th Sept. 1776.*

"GENTLEMEN, * * *

"From that time [of despatching the Favourite,] I cruised without seeing any vessel. I then spoke the Columbus' prize, the ship Royal Exchange, bound for Boston. By this time, my water and wood began to run short, which induced me to run to the northward, for some port of Nova Scotia or Cape Breton. I had, besides, a prospect of destroying the English shipping in these parts. The 16th, and 17th, I had a very heavy gale from the N. W. which obliged me to dismount all my guns, and stick every thing I could into the hold. The 19th, I made the Isle of Sable, and on the 20th, being between it and the main, I met with an English frigate, with a merchant ship under her convoy. I had hove to, to give my people an opportunity of taking fish, when the frigate came in sight directly to windward, and was so good natured as to save me the trouble of chasing him, by bearing down, the instant he discovered us. When he came within cannon shot, I made sail to try his speed. Quar-

* This is Jones' own account of what is called in the Naval Chronicle his "action of six hours" with the frigate Solebay, of 28 guns, from which he saved himself by a "desperate" manœuvre. "Skilful" seems to be a more appropriate term.

tering and finding that I had the advantage, I shortened sail to give him a wild goose chase, and tempt him to throw away powder and shot. Accordingly, a curious mock engagement was maintained between us, for eight hours ; until night, with her sable* curtains, put an end to this famous exploit of English knight-errantry.

“ He excited my contempt so much, by his continued firing, at more than twice the proper distance, that when he rounded to, to give his broadside, I ordered my marine officer to return the salute *with only a single musket*. We saw him, next morning, standing to the westward ; and it is not unlikely, that he hath told his friends at Halifax, what a trimming he gave to a ‘ rebe. privateer,’ which he found infesting the coast.

“ That night I was off Canso harbour, and sent my boat in to gain information. On the morning of the 22d, I anchored in the harbour, and, before night, got off a sufficiency of wood and water. Here I recruited several men, and finding three English schooners in the harbour, we that night burned one, sunk another, and, in the morning, carried off the third, which we had loaded with what fish was found in the other two.

“ At Canso, I received information of nine sail of ships, brigs, and schooners, in the harbour of Narrow Shock and Peter de Great,† at a small distance from each other, in the Island of Madame, on the east side of the bay of Canso. These I determined to take or destroy ; and, to do it effectually, having brought a shallop for the purpose from Canso, I despatched her with twenty-five armed men to Narrow Shock, while my boat went, well manned and armed, to Peter de Great ; and I kept off and on with the sloop, to keep them in awe at both places. The expedition succeeded to my wish. So effectual was this surprise, and so general the panic, that numbers yielded to a handful, without opposition, and never was a bloodless victory more complete. As the shipping that were unloaded were all un-

* He dates off the Isle of Sable.

† The orthography of the manuscript is followed.

rigged, I had recourse to an expedient for despatch. I promised to leave the late proprietors vessels sufficient to carry them home to the Island of Jersey, on condition that they immediately fitted out and rigged such of the rest as might be required. This condition was readily complied with; and they assisted my people with unremitting application, till the business was completed. But the evening of the 25th brought with it a violent gale of wind, with rain, which obliged me to anchor in the entrance of Narrow Shock; where I rode it out, with both anchors and whole cables a-head. Two of our prizes, the ship *Alexander* and *Sea Flower*, had come out before the gale began. The ship anchored under a point, and rode it out; but the schooner, after anchoring, drove, and ran ashore. She was a valuable prize; but, as I could not get her off, I next day ordered her to be set on fire. The schooner *Ebenezer*, taken at Canso, was driven on a reef of sunken rocks, and there totally lost; the people having with difficulty saved themselves on a raft. Towards noon on the 26th, the gale began to abate. The ship *Adventure* being unrigged, and almost empty, I ordered her to be burnt. I put to sea in the afternoon with the brigantine *Kingston Packet*, and being joined by the *Alexander*, went off Peter de Great. I had sent an officer round in a shallop to order the vessels in that harbour to meet me in the offing, and he now joined me in the brigantine *Success*, and informed me that Mr. Gallagher, (the officer who had commanded the party in that harbour,) had left it at the beginning of the gale in the brigantine *Defence*, and taken with him my boat and all the people. I am unwilling to believe that this was done with an evil intention. I rather think he concluded the boat and people necessary to assist the vessel getting out, the navigation being difficult, and the wind at that time unfavourable; and when the gale began, I know it was impossible for them to return.

“Thus weakened, I could attempt nothing more. With one of our brigs and the sloop, I could have scoured the coast and secured the destruction of a large boat fleet that was loading near Louisbourg, with the savage only to protect them.

“The fishery at Canso and Madame is effectually destroyed. Out of twelve sail which I took there, I only left two small schooners and one small brig, to convey a number of unfortunate men, not short of three hundred, across the Western Ocean. Had I gone further, I should have stood chargeable with inhumanity.

“In my ticklish situation it would have been madness to lose a moment. I therefore hastened to the southward, to convey my prizes out of harm’s way, the Damono brig having been within fifteen leagues of the scene of action during the whole time.

“On the 27th, I saw two sail, which we took for Quebec transports. Unable to resist the temptation, having appointed a three days’ rendezvous on the S. W. part of the Isle of Sable, I gave chase, but could not come up before they had got into Louisbourg, a place where I had reason to expect a far superior force; and therefore returned, and this day I joined my prizes at the rendezvous.

“If my poor endeavours should meet with your approbation, I shall be greatly rewarded in the pleasing reflection of having endeavoured to do my duty. I have had so much stormy weather, and been obliged, on divers occasions, to carry so much sail, that the sloop is in no condition to continue long out of port. I am, besides, very weak handed; and the men I have are scarce able to stand the deck, for want of clothing, the weather here being very cold. These reasons induce me to bend my thoughts towards the continent. I do not expect to meet with much, if any success, on my return. But if fortune should insist on sending a transport or so in my way, weak as I am, I will endeavour to pilot him safe. It is but justice to add, that my officers and men behaved incomparably well on the occasion.

“I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

“JOHN P. JONES.

‘The Honourable the Marine Committee,
Philadelphia.’

The following is the list of prizes, taken, burnt, and sunk by Jones this cruise.

Brigantine	Britannia,	Whaler,	} manned and sent in.
"	Sea Nymph,	West Indies,	
"	Favourite,	"	
Ship	Alexander,	Newfoundland,	
Brigantine	Success,	"	
"	Kingston Packet,	Jamaica,	
"	Defiance,	Jersey,	
Sloop	Portland,	Whaler,	
Ship	Adventure,	Jersey,	
Brigantine	Friendship,	"	
Schooner	John,	London,	
"	Betsy,	Jersey,	
"	Betsy,	Halifax,	
"	Sea Flower,	Canso,	
"	Ebenezer,	"	
"	Hope,	Jersey	

One of the objects of the expedition to Cape Breton, that of rescuing the hundred American prisoners confined in the coal pits, was not effected ; and other projects were abandoned, from the lateness of the season, and the difficulty of procuring men. Jones indeed met with more success than he had anticipated, as will be seen from the following extract of his letter to Mr. Morris, dated October 17th.


" I have been successfully employed in refitting and getting the Providence in readiness, but am under the greatest apprehension that the expedition will fall to nothing, as the Alfred is greatly short of men. I found her with only about thirty men, and we have with much ado enlisted thirty more ; but it seems the privateers entice them away as fast as they receive their month's pay. It is to the last degree distressing to contemplate the state and establishment of our navy. The common class of mankind are actuated by no nobler principle than that of self-interest ; this, and this alone determines all adventurers in privateers ; the owners, as well as those whom they employ. And while this is the case, unless the private emolument of individuals in our navy is made superior to that in privateers, it never can

become respectable; it never will become formidable. And without a respectable navy—alas! America! In the present critical situation of affairs, human wisdom can suggest no more than one infallible expedient: enlist the seamen during pleasure, and give them all the prizes. What is the paltry emolument of two thirds of prizes to the finances of this vast continent? * If so poor a resource is essential to its independency, in sober sadness we are involved in a woful predicament, and our ruin is fast approaching. The situation of America is new in the annals of mankind; her affairs cry haste, and speed must answer them. Trifles, therefore, ought to be wholly disregarded, as being in the old vulgar proverb “penny wise, and pound foolish.” If our enemies with the best established and most formidable navy in the universe, have found it expedient to assign all prizes to the captors, how much more is such policy essential to our infant fleet? But I need use no arguments to convince you of the necessity of making the emoluments of our navy equal, if not superior, to theirs. We have had proof that a navy may be officered almost on any terms, but we are not so sure that these officers are equal to their commissions; nor will the Congress ever obtain such certainty, until they, in their wisdom, see proper to appoint a board of admiralty, competent to determine impartially the respective merits and abilities of their officers, and to superintend, regulate, and point out, all the motions and operations of the navy.”

In the same letter he says, “Governor Hopkins tells me, that he apprehends I am appointed to the *Andrew Doria*; she is a good cruiser, and would, in my judgment, answer much better, were she mounted with 12 six-pounders, than as she is at present, with 14 fours. An expedition of importance may be effected this winter, on the coast of Africa, with part of the original

* By a resolution of Congress, of November 25th, 1775, two thirds of the value of all captures, made by public ships of war, were reserved to the use of the United Colonies.

fleet. Either the Alfred or Columbus, with the Andrew Doria and Providence, would, I am persuaded, carry all before them; and give a blow to the English African trade which would not soon be recovered, by not leaving them a mast standing on that coast. This expedition would be attended with no great expense; besides, the ship and vessels mentioned are unfit for service on a winter coast, which is not the case with the new frigates. The small squadron for this service ought to sail early, that the prizes may reach our ports in March or April. If I do not succeed in manning the Alfred, so as to proceed to the eastward, in the course of this week, the season will be lost; the coal fleet will be gone to Halifax, the fishermen to Europe."

 This cruise, however, of Jones, from Rhode Island, was attended with many useful and some brilliant results. The capture, in particular, of the clothing in the Meilish, while it furnished a seasonable supply to the American army, was a serious privation to that of the enemy. In his letter to the Marine Committee dated November 12th, Jones says: "This prize is, I believe, the most valuable that has been taken by the American arms. She made some defence, but it was trifling. The loss will distress the enemy more than can be easily imagined, as the clothing on board of her is the last intended to be sent out for Canada this season, and all that has preceded it is already taken. The situation of Burgoyne's army must soon become insupportable. I shall not lose sight of a prize of such importance, but will sink her, rather than suffer her to fall again into their hands."

His account of his second meeting with the Milford, given in the memorial from the Texel, is as follows: "On the edge of St. George's Bank, I again met with the Milford. The wind was at N. W. the enemy to windward, and we on our starboard tack. He could not come up before night; and, in the mean time, I placed the Alfred and the letter of marque from Liverpool, between the other prizes and the enemy. I ordered them to crowd sail on the same tack, all night, without paying regard to my light or signals. At midnight, the Alfred and the

letter of marque tacked, and I afterwards carried a top light till morning.

“This led the Milford entirely out of the way of the prizes, and particularly the clothing ship Mellish; for they were all out of sight in the morning. I had now to get out of the difficulty in the best way I could. In the morning we again tacked; and as the Milford did not make much appearance, I was unwilling to quit her, without a certainty of her superior force. She was out of shot, on the lee quarter; and as I could only see her bow, I ordered the letter of marque, Lieutenant Saunders, that held a much better wind than the Alfred, to drop slowly astern, until he could discover by a view of the enemy's side, whether she was of superior or inferior force, and to make a signal accordingly. On seeing Mr. Saunders drop astern, the Milford wore suddenly, and crowded sail towards the N. E. This raised in me such doubts as determined me to wear also, and give chase. Mr. Saunders steered by the wind, while the Milford went lasking, and the Alfred followed her with a pressed sail, so that Mr. Saunders was soon almost hull down to windward. At last the Milford tacked again; but I did not tack the Alfred, till I had the enemy's side fairly open, and could plainly see her force. I then tacked, about ten o'clock. The Alfred being too light to be steered by the wind, I bore away two points, while the Milford steered close by the wind, to gain the Alfred's wake; and by that means he dropped astern, notwithstanding his superior sailing. The weather too, which became exceedingly squally, enabled me to outdo the Milford, by carrying more sail. I began to be under no apprehension from the enemy's superiority, for there was every appearance of a severe gale, which really took place in the night. To my great surprise, however, Mr. Saunders, towards 4 o'clock, bore down on the Milford, made the signal of her inferior force, ran under her lee, and was taken!”

The delay experienced by Captain Jones at Boston, where he arrived with his prize, in getting rid of his prisoners and being delivered, as he phrases it, from the “honourable office of a jail

keeper,"—the inaction in which he was obliged to remain for want of a command,—the neglect of Commodore Hopkins, from unwillingness or inability, to render him any assistance,—and his being superseded in the command of the Alfred by the orders of that officer, were circumstances of an irritating character, which drew from him many letters of indignant remonstrance. Writing to the Commodore on the 28th February, he says: "It is only necessary for me to inform you, *as I have already done*, that I am appointed by a letter from the Honourable the Vice President of the Marine Board, dated the 5th current, to take command of the Alfred, Columbus, Cabot, Hampden, and sloop Providence, and to call on you for every possible assistance within your power, to enable me to proceed forthwith on a private enterprise, of the greatest importance to America. The letter has the sanction and full authority of Congress. It is written in their name. Therefore, Sir, I repeat my application, and demand your hearty and immediate concurrence with me in the outfit. It is in vain for you to affect to disbelieve my appointment.

"I should have appeared personally at Providence, had you justified my conduct in obeying your express orders, instead of leaving me, as you have done, in the lurch.* I could then have convinced you of its being your indispensable duty to give me every possible assistance. When I placed a confidence in you, I did not think you capable of prevarication. I then, when *you needed friends*, gave you the most convincing proof of my sincerity. This you must remember. I have asked Captain Saltonstall, how he could in the beginning suspect me, as you have told me, of being unfriendly to America. He seemed astonished at the question; and told me it was yourself who promoted it. However, waving every thing of a private nature, the best way

* This refers to the action commenced against Jones for damages, by the men taken from the Rhode Island privateer. Commodore Hopkins left him to defend the suit himself saying that his orders had not been given in writing. See Appendix, No. I.

is to co-operate cheerfully together, that the public service may be forwarded, and that scorn may yet forbear to point her finger at a fleet under your command. I am earnest in desiring to do every thing with good nature. Therefore to remove your doubts, if you have any, I send this by express, to inform you that I will meet you at Pawtucket, or at any other place, on as early a day as you please to appoint, and will there produce credentials to your satisfaction. In the mean time, it is your duty to prevent the departure of the Cabot, or any other vessel of the squadron. I am astonished to hear that you have ordered the Hampden out, without desiring an explanation, after you received my last letters. My appointment was unsolicited and unexpected, and it must be owing to the hurry of business that you have received no similar orders. I am, honoured Sir, your very obliged, most humble servant,

“J. P. JONES.

“P. S. I have sent by the bearer the coat which you desired, likewise one for Mr. Brown. If I can render you any service here, in procuring other articles, acquaint me with the particulars, and my best endeavours shall not be wanting.”

The mixture of conciliatory overtures with the peremptory language of this epistle, shows that personal pique was tempered with a predominating desire to serve the cause of the country at all sacrifices. It may be remarked, in passing, that Commodore Hopkins had been ordered to be censured by the sentence of a Court Martial; and that when the rank and station of the commanders of the navy was determined by Congress, his name was omitted.

In relation to the manner in which Jones was superseded, as he conceived himself to have been, by junior officers, he has given a full account in his letter addressed to Mr. Morris from Philadelphia in 1783, the whole of which document we have thought it necessary to publish in the appendix to this part.* It was an

* See Appendix to Part First, No II.

arrangement of which he never ceased to complain, and as the facts stated by him are uncontradicted, it seems that he had good reasons for so doing. Three grades of lieutenants were established by the act of Congress of December 22d, 1775. Jones was at the head of the first. At this time it is true that Congress had not granted general letters of reprisal, nor had the allegiance of the colonies to the British crown been renounced. After the declaration of Independence, the organization of the navy could only properly take place, and the rank of its officers be settled, as Congress in its wisdom should determine. Still a regard was due to meritorious services, and to former precedence, where the imperfect right was supported by them. The appointment of Jones to command the Providence as Captain, by the commander in chief of the fleet, Commodore Hopkins, though it cannot be considered as establishing his rank, was entitled to respect. On the 8th of August, 1776, he received an appointment as Captain, *under the United States*, from President Hancock. Congress had passed a resolution on the 17th April preceding, that "the nomination or appointment of captains or commanders should not establish rank, which should be settled before commissions were granted;" and it was not until the 10th of October following, that by another resolution they settled the delicate and embarrassing question.* But Jones con-

* *Rank of Captains in the Navy, established by Congress, Oct. 10th, 1776, viz.*

	Commanders.		Vessels.		Guns.
No. 1	James Nicholson - - - -		Virginia, - -		28
2	John Manly - - - -		Hancock, - -		32
3	Hector M'Neil - - - -		Boston, - -		24
4	Dudley Saltonstall - - - -		Trumbull, - -		28
5	Nicholas Biddle - - - -		Randolph, - -		32
6	Thomas Thompson - - - -		Raleigh, - -		32
7	John Barry - - - -		Effingham, - -		28
8	Thomas Read - - - -		Washington, - -		32
9	Thomas Grinnell - - - -		Congress, - -		28

ceived, as it was natural he should, that the date of his appointment ought not to have been wholly overlooked, and fairly entitled him to priority over those who were commissioned *as Captains, for the first time*, on the 10th October. In what terms that appointment was couched cannot be ascertained, as it appears it was mislaid by President Hancock, who had requested Jones to leave it with him for a day or two. In the eloquent argument made for himself by the latter, in the remonstrance in the appendix to which we refer, he evidently confounds occasionally the terms, *appointment and commission*. While, therefore the government must be exempted from the censure of having violated any actual *rights* which Captain Jones had, it is a matter of regret, that in executing the difficult task of assigning rank, his fair *claims* should not have been admitted. It embittered many moments of his existence, when he was struggling with other difficulties, which neither courage nor ambition could overcome, and felt peculiarly "how near to the heart," as he expresses it, "of every military officer, is rank, which opens the door to glory."

10	Charles Alexander	- - -	Delaware, - -	24
11	Lambert Wickes	- - -	Reprisal, - -	16
12	Abraham Whipple	- - -	Providence, -	28
13	John B. Hopkins	- - -	Warren, - -	32
14	John Hodge	- - -	Montgomery, -	24
15	William Hallock	- - -	Lexington, - -	16
16	Hoysted Hacker	- - -	Hampden, - -	—
17	Isaiah Robinson	- - -	Andrew Doria,	14
18	John Paul Jones	- - -	Providence, - -	12
19	James Josiah	- - -	———— - -	—
20	Elisha Hinman	- - -	Alfred, - -	28
21	Joseph Olney	- - -	Cabot, - -	16
22	James Robinson	- - -	Sachem, - -	10
23	John Young	- - -	Independence, -	10
24	Elisha Warner	- - -	Fly, - -	—
	Lieut. John Baldwin	- -	Wasp, - -	8
	Lieut. Thomas Alberton	-	Musquito, - -	4

On this subject he thus wrote to the Marine Board at Philadelphia, "I am now to inform you, that by a letter from Commodore Hopkins, dated on board the Warren, January 14th, 1777, which came to my hands a day or two ago, I am superseded in the command of the Alfred, in favour of Captain Hinman, and ordered back to the sloop in Providence River. Whether this order doth or doth not supersede also your orders to me of the 10th ult. you can best determine ; however, as I undertook the late expedition at his (Commodore Hopkins') request, from a principle of humanity, I mean not now to make a difficulty about trifles, especially when the good of the service is to be consulted. As I am unconscious of any neglect of duty, or misconduct, since my appointment at the first as eldest lieutenant of the navy, I cannot suppose that you can have intended to set me aside, in favour of any man who did not at that time bear a captain's commission, unless indeed that man, by exerting his superior abilities, hath rendered or can render more important services to America. Those who stepped forth at the first, in ships altogether unfit for war, were generally considered as frantic rather than as wise men ; for it must be remembered, that almost every thing then made against them. And although the success in the affair with the Glasgow was not equal to what it might have been, yet the blame ought not to be general. The principal or principals in command alone are culpable ; and the other officers, while they stand unimpeached, have their full merit. There were, it is true, divers persons, from misrepresentation, put into commission at the beginning, without fit qualification, and perhaps the number may have been increased by later appointments ; but it follows not that the gentleman or man of merit should be neglected or overlooked on their account. None other than a gentleman, as well as a seaman both in theory and practice, is qualified to support the character of a commission officer in the navy ; nor is any man fit to command a ship of war who is not also capable of communicating his ideas on paper, in language that becomes his rank. If this be

admitted, the foregoing operations will be sufficiently clear; but if further proof is required, it can easily be produced.

“ When I entered into the service, I was not actuated by motives of self-interest. I stepped forth as a free citizen of the world, in defence of the violated rights of mankind, and not in search of riches, whereof, I thank God, I inherit a sufficiency;* but I should prove my degeneracy were I not in the highest degree tenacious of my rank and seniority. As a gentleman, I can yield this point up only to persons of superior abilities and superior merit; and under such persons it would be my highest ambition to learn. As this is the first time of my having expressed the least anxiety on my own account, I must entreat your patience until I account to you for the reason which hath given me this freedom of sentiment. It seems that Captain Hinman’s commission is No. 1, and that, in consequence, he who was at first my junior officer by eight, hath *expressed himself as my senior officer* in a manner which doth himself no honour, and which doth me signal injury. There are also in the navy, persons who have not shown me fair play after the service I have rendered them. I have even been blamed for the civilities which I have shown to my prisoners; at the request of one of whom I herein enclose an appeal, which I must beg leave to lay before Congress. Could you see the appellant’s accomplished lady, and the innocents their children, arguments in their behalf would be unnecessary. As the base-minded only are capable of inconsistencies, you will not blame my free soul, which can never stoop where I cannot also esteem. Could I, which I never can, bear to be superseded, I should indeed deserve your contempt and total neglect. I am therefore to entreat you to employ me in the most enterprising and active service,—accountable to your Honourable Board only, for my conduct, and connected as much as possible with gentlemen and men of good sense.”

* His jealous uneasiness lest he should be considered a gladiator, or in any shape a mercenary soldier, led him to use strong terms, not always well weighed in the moment of indignation. The riches he inherited were the gifts of nature.

See Appendix No. III.

"My conduct hitherto," he says, in the memorial addressed to Congress from the Texel, "was so much approved of by Congress, that on the 5th February, 1777, I was appointed, with unlimited orders, to command a little squadron of the Alfred, Columbus, Cabot, Hampden, and sloop Providence. Various important services were pointed out, but I was left at free liberty to make my election. That service, however, did not take place; for the Commodore, who had three of the squadron blocked in at Providence, affected to disbelieve my appointment, and would not at last give me the necessary assistance. Finding that he trifled with my applications as well as the orders of Congress, I undertook a journey from Boston to Philadelphia, in order to explain matters to Congress in person. I took this step also because Captain Hinman had succeeded me in the command of the Alfred, and, of course, the service could not suffer through my absence. I arrived at Philadelphia in the beginning of April. But what was my surprise to find that, by a new line of navy rank, which had taken place on the 10th day of October, 1776, all the officers that had stepped forth at the beginning were superseded! I was myself superseded by thirteen men, not one of whom did (and perhaps some of them durst not) take the sea against the British flag at the first; for several of them who were then applied to refused to venture,—and none of them have since been very happy in proving their superior abilities. Among these thirteen there are individuals who can neither pretend to parts nor education, and with whom, as a private gentleman, I would disdain to associate.

"I leave your Excellency and the Congress to judge how this must affect a man of honour and sensibility.

"I was told by President Hancock, that what gave me so much pain had been the effect only of a multiplicity of business. He acknowledged the injustice of that regulation, said it should make but a nominal, and temporary difference, and that in the mean time I might assure myself, that no navy officer stood higher in the opinion of Congress than myself."

In connexion with the foregoing letters, it is not out of place to introduce the following, to Mr. Morris.

“As the regulations of the navy are of the utmost consequence, you will not think it presumption, if, with the utmost diffidence, I venture to communicate to you such hints as, in my judgment, will promote its honour and good government. I could heartily wish that every commission officer was to be previously examined; for, to my certain knowledge, there are persons who have already crept into commission without abilities or fit qualification: I am myself far from desiring to be excused. From experience in ours, as well as from my former intimacy with many officers of note in the British navy, I am convinced that the parity of rank between sea and land or marine officers, is of more consequence to the harmony of the service than has generally been imagined. In the British establishment, an admiral ranks with a general, a vice admiral with a lieutenant general, a rear admiral with a major general, a commodore with a brigadier general, a captain with a colonel, a master and commander with a lieutenant colonel, a lieutenant commanding with a major, and a lieutenant in the navy ranks with a captain of horse, foot, or marines. I propose not our enemies as an example for our general imitation, yet, as their navy is the best regulated of any in the world, we must in some degree imitate them, and aim at such farther improvement as may one day make ours vie with, and exceed theirs. Were this regulation to take place in our navy, it would prevent numberless disputes and duellings, which otherwise will be unavoidable.”*

* Congress on the 15th November, 1776, adopted the following resolution.

That the rank of the naval officers be to the rank of officers in the land service, as follows:

Admiral,	- - - -	as a	- - - -	General,
Vice Admiral,	- - - -	“	- - - -	Lieut. General,
Rear Admiral,	- - - -	“	- - - -	Major General,

Jones repaired from Boston to Philadelphia, in the beginning of April, 1777. His suggestions as to the proper government of the navy, and his projects of annoying the enemy, were listened to with respectful attention. Whatever cause he conceived himself to have for complaining of the nominal rank assigned to him, the command which it was first resolved to give him, and that with which he was in the issue entrusted, were calculated to satisfy his sense of what was due to his deserts, and he expresses himself as being highly gratified. In his Journal, written for the king of France, he says: "The President assured Captain Jones that this matter of rank should be arranged at a future day, to his satisfaction, and in the mean time he should have a separate command, &c. Three ships were ordered to be fitted out in the eastern states, and Captain Jones was, by a resolve of Congress, directed to take his choice of them, *'until better provision could be made for him.'*"* Captain Jones spared no pains to execute this last scheme; but before it was well begun, he received an appointment from the marine and secret committee, to proceed to France in the French

Commodore, - - -	as a - - -	Brig. General,
Captain of a ship of 40 guns and upwards,		Colonel,
Do. - - - 20 to 40 guns, -	as a	Lieut. Colonel,
Do. of a ship of 10 to 20 guns, -	"	Major,
Lieutenant in the navy, - - - -	"	Captain.

* "IN CONGRESS, March 15, 1777.

"Resolved, That Daniel Waters, and Samuel Tucker, be appointed Captains in the Navy of the United States, and that they have the command of two of the three ships ordered to be purchased. And that the command of the other ship be given to Captain John Paul Jones, until better provision can be made for him."

The resolutions of the Marine Committee, authorizing Jones to make his election of the three ships, as soon as the purchase should be made, and to fit out the one he might select for sea, are to the effect stated in his journal.

ship *Amphitrite* from New Hampshire, with a letter to the American Commissioners at Paris, containing orders to invest him immediately with the command of 'a fine ship,' (the *Indian*, built for America at Amsterdam,) 'as a reward for his zeal, and the important services he had performed, in vessels of little force.' His departure in the *Amphitrite* did not succeed, because the terms offered the French commander were not accepted." Speaking of this resolution of Congress, he says elsewhere, "This was generous indeed ; and I shall feel the whole force of the obligation, to the last moment of my life."

In the memorandums and documents, in the compiler's possession, there is no further explanation of the causes which prevented Jones from embarking in the *Amphitrite*. By a letter from him, to an agent, directing the enlistment of seamen, dated May 23d, it appears that he lost no time in acting upon the appointment by the Marine Committee. The following are the official letters and instructions, with which he was furnished.

" Philadelphia, 9th May, 1777.

" HONOURABLE GENTLEMEN,

" This letter is intended to be delivered to you by John Paul Jones, Esq. an active and brave commander in our navy, who has already performed signal services in vessels of little force ; and in reward for his zeal we have directed him to go on board the *Amphitrite*, a French ship of twenty guns, that brought in a valuable cargo of stores from Mons. Hostalez and Co. and with her to repair to France. He takes with him his commission, some officers and men, so that we hope he will, under that sanction, make some good prizes with the *Amphitrite* ; but our design of sending him is, (with the approbation of Congress,) that you may purchase one of those fine frigates that Mr. Deane writes us you can get, and invest him with the command thereof as soon as possible. We hope you may not delay this business one moment, but purchase, in such port or place in Europe as it can be done with most convenience and despatch, a fine fast-

sailing frigate or larger ship. Direct Captain Jones where he must repair to, and he will take with him his officers and men towards manning her. You will assign him some good house or agent to supply him with every thing necessary to get the ship speedily and well equipped and manned—somebody that will bestir themselves vigorously in the business, and never quit it until it is accomplished.

“ If you have any plan or service to be performed in Europe by such a ship, that you think will be more for the interest and honour of the States than sending her out directly, Captain Jones is instructed to obey your orders ; and, to save repetition, let him lay before you the instructions we have given him, and furnish you with a copy thereof. You can then judge what will be necessary for you to direct him in, and whatever you do will be approved, as it will undoubtedly tend to promote the public service of this country.

“ You see by this step how much dependence Congress place in your advices ; and you must make it a point not to disappoint Captain Jones’ wishes and expectations on this occasion.

“ We are, &c.

(Signed) “ ROBERT MORRIS.

“ RICHARD HENRY LEE.

“ WM. WHIPPLE.

“ PHIL. LIVINGSTON.

“ The Honourable Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane,
and Arthur Lee, Esquires, Commissioners,” &c.

IN MARINE COMMITTEE.

“ *Philadelphia, May 9th, 1777.*

“ JOHN PAUL JONES, Esq.

“ Sir—Congress have thought proper to authorize the Secret Committee to employ you on a voyage in the *Amphitrite*, from Portsmouth to Carolina and France, where it is expected you will be provided with a fine frigate ; and as your present commission is for the command of a particular ship, we now send you a new one, whereby you are appointed a captain in

our navy, and of course may command any ship in the service to which you are particularly ordered. You are to obey the orders of the Secret Committee, and we are, Sir, &c.

(Signed) "JOHN HANCOCK.

"ROB. MORRIS.

"WM. WHIPPLE."

IN MARINE COMMITTEE.

"Philadelphia, September 6th, 1777.

"SIR,

"As soon as these instructions get to hand, you are to make immediate application to the proper persons to get your vessel victualled and fitted for sea with all expedition. When this is done, you are to proceed on a voyage to some convenient port in France ; on your arrival there, apply to the agent, if any, in or near said port, for such supplies as you may stand in need of. You are at the same time to give immediate notice, by letter, to the Honourable Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, Esquires, or any of them at Paris, of your arrival, requesting their instructions as to your further destination ; which instructions you are to obey as far as it shall be in your power.

"You are to take particular notice, that whilst on the coast of France, or in a French port, you are, as much as you conveniently can, to keep your guns covered and concealed, and to make as little warlike appearance as possible. Wishing you," &c. &c.

Jones had recommended, in a letter to a member in Congress, that the *Mellish* should be converted into a ship of war ; and the secret committee had passed a resolution to that effect ; but the intention was abandoned in consequence of letters from him. On the 14th June, Congress resolved, "that the flag of the United States should be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white : that the Union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation." By another resolution, passed the same day, Jones was appointed to command the ship *Ranger* ; on board of which he hoisted the national flag

for the first time it was displayed on board of a man of war, as he had formerly hoisted the colonial one, in the Delaware.* He began to fit out this vessel in July ; but was not ready for sea before the 15th November following. She was scarcely half rigged when he took charge of her, and much difficulty was experienced in arming and equipping her. He wrote* as follows to the Marine Committee on the 29th October.—“ With all my industry I could not get the single suit of sails completed, until the 20th current. Since that time the winds and weather have laid me under the necessity of continuing in port. At this time it blows a very heavy gale from the N. E. The ship with difficulty rides it out, with yards and top mast struck, and whole cables ahead. When it clears up, I expect the wind from the N. W. and shall not fail to embrace it, although I have not now a spare sail, nor materials to make one. Some of those I have are made of *Hessings*, (a coarse thin stuff.) I never before had so disagreeable a service to perform, as that which I have now accomplished, and of which another will claim the credit as well as the profit. However, in doing my utmost, I am sensible that I have done no more than my duty. I have now to acknowledge the honour of having received your orders of the 6th ultimo ; and that I have before me the pleasing prospect of being the welcome messenger at Paris of the joyful and important news of Burgoyne’s surrender. I have received despatches from the Council of Massachusetts, for the commissioners, by express. I shall, therefore, not go out of my course, unless I see a fair opportunity of distressing the enemy, and of rendering services to America.”

Twenty-six guns were provided for the Ranger ; but Jones wrote that he purposed to carry no more than 18 six pounders, as he thought the ship incapable of carrying a greater number so as to be serviceable. He complained that they were all three diameters of the bore too short. He found no difficulty in pro-

* See Appendix, No. IV.

curing men, but he was badly provided with stores, having only thirty gallons of rum for his whole crew. With this indifferent armament he sailed from Portsmouth on the first of November, and arrived at Nantes on the 2d December following. He found the *Ranger* very crank, owing to the improper quality of her ballast ; which induced him on his arrival to shorten her lower masts, and ballast with lead. The following particulars of his cruise are given in his letter from Nantes to the Marine Committee.—“ After passing the Western Islands, I fell in with and brought to, a number of ships, but met with no English property, till within eighty leagues of Ushant. I then fell in with a fleet of ten sail with a strong convoy, bound up the channel ; but notwithstanding my endeavours, I was unable to detach any of them from the convoy. I took two brigantines from Malaga with fruit for London. One of the prizes has arrived here. The other, I am now told, is in Quiberon Bay. I arrived here on the 2d current, without having met with any misfortune on the passage, though I met with some very severe weather. Besides the fleet already mentioned, I fell in with several ships in the night ; so that I have had agreeable proofs of the active spirit both of my officers and men. Though they have not formerly been conversant in the management of ships of war, yet I am persuaded they will behave well, should I have an opportunity of bringing them to action, &c.” He does not mention in this letter the particulars of his meeting with the *Invincible* ; a ship of seventy-four guns, which was giving convoy to a few ships from Gibraltar. He speaks of the affair in his narrative for the king of France, as a “ near rencounter ;” and in his letter from the *Texel*, he says, “ I could not help chasing the *Invincible*, by the way.”

Determining to attend to the necessary alterations and equipment of the *Ranger* in person, his first act on arriving at Nantes was to write on the 5th December to the commissioners of Congress at Paris,—Dr. Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee. The following is an extract from the letter :

“ I yesterday, enclosed you copies of two letters which I wrote

you previous to my departure from Portsmouth, together with a plan which I drew up at Philadelphia, on the regulation and equipment of our infant navy. It is my first and favourite wish to be employed in active and enterprising services, when there is a prospect of rendering acceptable services to America. The singular honour which Congress have done me by their generous acknowledgment of my past services, hath inspired me with sentiments of gratitude which I shall carry with me to my grave ; and if a life of services devoted to America can be made instrumental in securing its independence, I shall regard the continuance of such approbation as an honour far superior to what kings even could bestow."

" I am ready to lay before you any orders, which I have received from Congress. At present I take the liberty of enclosing for your inspection a very honourable and unexpected appointment, &c." " I have always, since we have had ships of war, been persuaded that small squadrons could be employed to far better advantage on private expeditions, and would distress the enemy infinitely more than the same force could do, by cruising either jointly or separately. Were strict secrecy observed on our part, the enemy have many important places in such a defenceless situation, that they might be effectually surprised and attacked, with no very considerable force. We cannot yet fight their navy ; as their numbers and force are so far superior to ours. Therefore it seems to be our most natural province to surprise their defenceless places ; and thereby divert their attention, and draw it off from our coasts. But you see that my honourable correspondent is, and I know that many others are, of the same opinion."

The course here recommended by Jones was the only one which eventually was found feasible. He was soon summoned to Paris by the Commissioners, to consult with them upon the measures to be adopted for annoying the enemy. France was not yet in open hostility with England, nor had the commissioners been recognised as plenipotentiaries. Jones was directed to keep his guns as much concealed as possible while on the

French coasts. He was destined to meet with a serious disappointment, in being obliged to assent to the transfer of the Indian, the "fine ship" of which he had expected to receive the command, and which was building at Amsterdam, to the French Government. Considering the irritability of his character, we do not find that he bore this miscarriage very ungraciously. Congress certainly had intended that he should take command of this vessel, or of one of equal force; and he made their resolution a ground for claiming the rank which such a command would have given him. But he submitted to parting with the Indian with tolerable good humour, as the extracts from his letters will show. This is mentioned, because he has been charged with writing to Congress. "in no very modest terms." In his first despatch from Nantes to the marine committee, he says: "I understand, though I have yet received no letter, that the commissioners had provided for me one of the finest frigates that ever was built; calculated for thirty guns on one deck; and capable of carrying thirty-six pounders; but were under the necessity of giving her up, on account of some difficulties which they met with at court. Perhaps the news of our late successes may now put that court in a better humour. But my unfeigned thanks are equally due for the *intention* as for the act." Writing again to the same committee, on the 22d December, the day after he had received a request from the commissioners to attend them at Paris, he declared his intention to proceed to sea with the Ranger, without loss of time, should there be any delay in obtaining additional force. In his narrative for the king of France, corrected by himself, in speaking of the "assignment of the property of that famous frigate, the Indian," he has interlined, "with the consent of Captain Jones."

Writing to the Marine Committee subsequently, on the subject, he said: "Deeply sensible of the honour which Congress has conferred upon me, communicated in the orders of the Secret Committee to the commissioners, I can bear the disappointment with philosophy. Yet I confess I was rather hurt, when

at *Paris*, I understood that the new frigate at Amsterdam had never been intended for me, before my appearance, but for the constructor."

After conferring with the commissioners on the various schemes he had to suggest, he returned to Nantes to complete the *Ranger's* equipments, and on the 16th of January 1788, he received from them their instructions as to his conduct on the cruise he proposed making. They were as follows, giving him almost unlimited discretion; which he was perfectly willing to assume, though it seems from one of his despatches that he did not understand the commissioners as "promising even to justify him, should he fail in any bold attempt."

"Paris, January 16th, 1788.

"CAPTAIN JONES,

"Sir—As it is not in our power to procure you such a ship as you expected, we advise you, after equipping the *Ranger* in the best manner for the cruise you propose, that you proceed with her in the manner you shall judge best for distressing the enemies of the United States, by sea or otherwise, consistent with the laws of war, and the terms of your commission." [Directions here follow for sending prizes taken on the coast of France and Spain, into Bilboa or Coronge, unless the danger was too great, in which case they were to be sent to L'Orient or Bordeaux.] "If you make an attempt on the coast of Great Britain we advise you not to return immediately into the ports of France, unless forced by stress of weather, or the pursuit of the enemy; and in such case you can make the proper representation to the officers of the port, and acquaint us with your situation. We rely on your ability, as well as your zeal to serve the United States, and therefore do not give you particular instructions as to your operations. We must caution you against giving any cause of complaint to the subjects of France or Spain, or of other neutral powers; and recommend it to you to show them every proper mark of respect, and real civility, which may be in your power."

Mr. Arthur Lee did not approve of a part of these instructions, directing the sale of the prizes to be intrusted to other hands than those of the commercial agents. He expressed his want of confidence in Mr. Gourlade, one of the persons mentioned, at L'Orient, and did not sign the letter. Messrs. Franklin and Deane knew of nothing done by Gourlade, to impair their confidence in him. Agreeably to the suggestion of Jones, they addressed an intimation to the crew of the *Ranger*, promising, "in case of their good and gallant behaviour, to recommend them to Congress for a generous gratification, proportioned to their merits."

On the 10th of February, Jones says in his Journal to the king of France, "on receiving agreeable news of affairs in America, and the position of Lord Howe's fleet, he wrote a letter to Mr. Deane, one of the commissioners of Congress at Paris, containing the plan that was adopted for Count D'Estaing's expedition; which would have ended the war, had it been immediately pursued." He has been censured for assuming to himself the original merit of devising this important measure. It is certain, that he repeatedly makes the assertion that he furnished the outline of the project.* In a letter to M. De Sartine, the French minister of marine, written subsequently, he says:

"Had Count D'Estaing arrived in the Delaware a few days sooner, he might have made a most glorious and easy conquest. Many successful projects may be adopted from the hints which I had the honour to draw up; and if I can still furnish more, or execute any of these already furnished, so as to distress and humble the common enemy, it will afford me the truest pleasure." It may naturally be inferred, that the operations of Count D'Estaing's fleet was a subject discussed in the consultations held by Jones with the commissioners, on his first brief visit to Paris, though he does not intimate that any such conversation took place. It cannot be doubted, that he was peculiarly qualified to give

* See Appendix, No. V.

important advice, from his accurate acquaintance with the localities of the Delaware, and the navigation of the waters in the vicinity of the scene selected for the intended operation. It will also not be doubted, that his advice would naturally be of a daring character, recommending bold measures as best calculated to lead to great results. There can be no reason for impeaching his veracity, when he affirms that he forwarded his plan to Mr. Deane at the time mentioned; nor does it appear that he exclusively arrogated the praise due to the wisdom with which the scheme was conceived. He put in a claim for his fair share of the honour; and there is no evidence against his title to it. No copy of the letter he speaks of is preserved among the papers and volumes which the compiler has in his possession. As secrecy was essential in effecting the proposed object, no mention is of course made of it in his general correspondence at the time. It failed, as is well known, from the delay which occurred, and which enabled Lord Howe to place his fleet and transports in safety.

From Nantes, Jones proceeded in the *Ranger* for Quiberon Bay, whither "he convoyed some American vessels, that desired to sail out under the protection of the French squadron in that road, commanded by Monsieur La Motte Picquet. From that brave officer, Captain Jones claimed and obtained the first salute the flag of America ever received. Some days afterwards, he claimed and obtained the same honour from Count D'Orvilliers, commander in chief of the fleet at Brest. Both these salutes preceded the publication of the treaty of alliance."*

This first salute was not obtained, however, without some diplomacy and negotiation, in which Jones showed both firmness and address. The following letters were written by him on the occasion.

"February 14th, 1778.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am extremely sorry to give you fresh trouble, but I think the Admiral's answer of yesterday requires an explanation.

* Narrative for the king of France.

The haughty English return gun for gun to foreign officers of equal rank, and two less only to captains by flag-officers. It is true, my command at present is not important, yet, as the senior American officer at present in Europe, it is my duty to claim an equal return of respect to the flag of the United States that would be shown to any other flag whatever.

"I therefore take the liberty of enclosing an appointment, perhaps as respectable as any which the French Admiral can produce; besides which, I have others in my possession.

"If, however, he persists in refusing to return an equal salute, I will accept of two guns less, as I have not the rank of Admiral.

"It is my opinion, that he would return four less to a privateer or a merchant ship; therefore, as I have been honoured oftener than once with a chief command of ships of war, I cannot, in honour, accept of the same terms of respect.

"You will singularly oblige me by waiting upon the Admiral; and I ardently hope you will succeed in the application, else I shall be under a necessity of departing without coming into the bay. I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

"TO WILLIAM CARMICHAEL, Esq.

"N. B.—Though thirteen guns is your greatest salute in America, yet if the French Admiral should prefer a greater number, he has his choice, *on conditions*."

Writing to Mr. Jonathan Williams on the following day, he says, "I propose to salute the Admiral in open day; that no evasion may afterwards be made." He wrote as follows to the Marine Committee, on the 22d February. "I am happy in having it in my power to congratulate you on my having seen the American flag, for the first time, recognised, in the fullest and completest manner by the flag of France. I was off their bay the 13th, and sent my boat in the next day, to know if the Admiral would return my salute. He answered that he would return to me, as the senior American continental officer in Europe, the same salute which he was authorized by his court to return to

an Admiral of Holland, or of any other Republic, which was four guns less than the salute given. I hesitated at this ; for I had demanded gun for gun. Therefore, I anchored in the entrance of the bay, at a distance from the French fleet ; but after a very particular inquiry on the 14th, finding that he had really told the truth, I was induced to accept of his offer, the more so, as it was in fact an acknowledgment of American Independence. The wind being contrary, and blowing hard, it was after sunset before the Ranger got near enough to salute La Motte Picquet with thirteen guns ; which he returned with nine. However, to put the matter beyond a doubt, I did not suffer the Independence to salute till next morning, when I sent the Admiral word that I should sail through his fleet in the brig, and would salute him in open day. He was exceedingly pleased, and returned the compliment also with nine guns."

"I have in contemplation several enterprises of some importance. * * * When an enemy thinks a design against him improbable, he can always be surprised and attacked with advantage. It is true, I must run great risk ; but no gallant action was ever performed without danger. Therefore, though I cannot ensure success, I will endeavour to deserve it."

Writing on the same date to the secret committee, thanking them for the flattering terms in which he had been recommended to the commissioners, and his services been spoken of, he enclosed an ode of a patriotic character, which had been written in France, begging that it might be laid before Congress, and intimating a hope that the author would be considered worthy of the attention of that body. What notice that grave assembly took of the metrical effusion and its composer, does not appear.

He says that at this time "Count D'Orvilliers, through whom he communicated his idea for an expedition to America to M. De Sartine, offered, on account of the smallness of his frigate, to procure for him a commission of Captain, in the Royal Navy of France, which he refused."

He sailed from Brest on the 10th April, on his first memorable cruise. The commissioners had no exact idea of his inten-

tions: He "at first had thoughts of striking a blow on the south side of England; but being detained for some time by contrary and stormy winds at Brest, he abandoned that scheme." The most ample and interesting account of this cruise is given in his letter to the American Commissioners, written on the 27th May, from Brest. It is said to be confirmed, in all its details, by log-books in the possession of individuals in Scotland. It has been very frequently published, but its insertion entire is essential here.

"I have now to fulfil the promise made in my last, by giving you an account of my late expedition.

"I sailed from Brest the 10th of April; my plan was extensive, I therefore did not at the beginning wish to encumber myself with prisoners. On the 14th I took a brigantine between Scilly and Cape Clear, bound for Ostend, with a cargo of flaxseed for Ireland, sunk her, and proceeded into St. George's Channel.

"On the 17th I took the ship *Lord Chatham*, bound from London to Dublin, with a cargo consisting of porter, and a variety of merchandise, and almost within sight of her port; this ship I manned and ordered for Brest.

"Towards the evening of the day following, the weather had a promising appearance, and, the wind being favourable, I stood over from the Isle of Man with an intention to make a descent at Whitehaven; at ten I was off the harbour with a party of volunteers, and had every thing in readiness to land; but before eleven the wind greatly increased and shifted, so as to blow directly upon the shore; the sea increased of course, and it became impossible to effect a landing. This obliged me to carry all possible sail so as to clear the land, and to await a more favourable opportunity.

"On the 18th, in Glentinebay, on the south coast of Scotland, I met with a revenue wherry; it being the common practice of these vessels to board merchant ships, the *Ranger* then having no external appearance of war, it was expected that this

rover would have come alongside ; I was, however, mistaken, for though the men were at their quarters, yet this vessel outsailed the *Ranger*, and got clear in spite of a severe cannonade.

“ The next morning, off the Mull of Galloway, I found myself so near a Scotch coasting schooner, loaded with barley, that I could not avoid sinking her. Understanding that there were ten or twelve sail of merchant ships, besides a Tender brigantine, with a number of impressed men on board, at anchor in Lochryan, in Scotland, I thought this an enterprise worthy my attention ; but the wind, which at the first would have served equally well to have sailed in or out of the Loch, shifted in a hard squall, so as to blow almost directly in, with an appearance of bad weather. I was therefore obliged to abandon my project.

“ Seeing a cutter off the lee-bow steering for the Clyde, I gave chase, in hopes of cutting her off ; but finding my endeavours ineffectual, I pursued no farther than the Rock of Ailsa. In the evening I fell in with a sloop from Dublin, which I sunk, to prevent intelligence.

“ The next day, the 21st, being near Carrickfergus, a fishing-boat came off, which I detained. I saw a ship at anchor in the road, which I was informed by the fishermen was the British ship of war *Drake*, of twenty guns. I determined to attack her in the night ; my plan was to overlay her cable, and to fall upon her bow, so as to have all her decks open and exposed to our musquetry, &c. ; at the same time, it was my intention to have secured the enemy by grapplings, so that, had they cut their cables, they would not thereby have attained an advantage. The wind was high, and unfortunately the anchor was not let go so soon as the order was given, so that the *Ranger* was brought to upon the enemy's quarter at the distance of half a cable's length. We had made no warlike appearance, of course had given no alarm ; this determined me to cut immediately, which might appear as if the cable had parted, and at the same time enable me, after making a tack out of the Loch, to return with the same prospect of advantage which I had at the first. I was, however, prevented from returning, as I with difficulty

weathered the lighthouse on the lee-side of the Loch, and as the gale increased. The weather now became so very stormy and severe, and the sea ran so high, that I was obliged to take shelter under the south shore of Scotland.

“ The 22d introduced fair weather, though the three kingdoms were, as far as the eye could reach, covered with snow. I now resolved once more to attempt Whitehaven; but the wind became very light, so that the ship would not in proper time approach so near as I had intended. At midnight I left the ship with two boats and thirty-one volunteers; when we reached the outer pier, the day began to dawn; I would not, however, abandon my enterprise, but despatched one boat under the direction of Mr. Hill and Lieutenant Wallingsford, with the necessary combustibles to set fire to the shipping on the north side of the harbour, while I went with the other party to attempt the south side. I was successful in scaling the walls and spiking up all the cannon on the first fort; finding the sentinels shut up in the guard-house, they were secured without being hurt. Having fixed sentinels, I now took with me one man only, (Mr. Green,) and spiked up all the cannon on the southern fort, distant from the other a quarter of a mile.

“ On my return from this business, I naturally expected to see the fire of the ships on the north side, as well as to find my own party with every thing in readiness to set fire to the shipping on the south; instead of this, I found the boat under the direction of Mr. Hill and Mr. Wallingsford returned, and the party in some confusion, their light having burnt out at the instant when it became necessary.*

* Jones did not soon surmount the disappointment occasioned by this misunderstanding on the part of his officers. In a memorial to Congress, he says, “ My first object was to secure an exchange of prisoners in Europe, and my second to put an end, by one good fire in England of *shipping*, to all the burnings in America. I succeeded in the first, even by means far more glorious than my most flattering ideas had ex-

“By the strangest fatality, my own party were in the same situation, the candles being all burnt out. The day too came on apace, yet I would by no means retreat while any hopes of success remained. Having again placed sentinels, a light was obtained at a house disjoined from the town, and a fire was kindled in the steerage of a large ship, which was surrounded by at least a hundred and fifty others, chiefly from two to four hundred tons burthen, and lying side by side, aground, unsurrounded by the water.

“There were, besides, from seventy to a hundred large ships in the north arm of the harbour, aground, clear of the water, and divided from the rest only by a stone pier of a ship's height. I should have kindled fires in other places if the time had permitted; as it did not, our care was to prevent the one kindled from being easily extinguished. After some search, a barrel of tar was found, and poured into the flames, which now ascended from all the hatchways. The inhabitants began to appear in thousands, and individuals ran hastily towards us. I stood between them and the ship on fire, with a pistol in my hand, and ordered them to retire, which they did with precipitation. The flames had already caught the rigging, and began to ascend the main-mast; the sun was a full hour's march above the horizon, and as sleep no longer ruled the world, it was time to retire. We re-embarked without opposition, having released a number of prisoners, as our boats could not carry them. After all my people had embarked, I stood upon the pier for a

pected when I left France. In the second, I endeavoured to deserve success; but a wise officer of mine observed, that ‘it was a rash thing, and that nothing could *be got* by burning poor people's property.’ I must, however, do him the justice to mention his acknowledgment, that he had no turn for enterprise; and I must also do equal justice to my former officers in the Providence and the Alfred, by declaring, that had they been with me in the Ranger, two hundred and fifty, or three hundred sail of large ships at Whitehaven would have been laid in ashes.”

considerable space, yet no person advanced: I saw all the eminences round the town covered with the amazed inhabitants.

“ When we had rowed to a considerable distance from the shore, the English began to run in vast numbers to their forts; their disappointment may easily be imagined when they found, I suppose, at least thirty heavy cannon (the instruments of their vengeance) rendered useless. At length, however, they began to fire, having, as I apprehend, either brought down ships’ guns, or used one or two cannon which lay on the beach at the foot of the walls, dismounted, and which had not been spiked. They fired with no direction, and the shot falling short of the boats, instead of doing us any damage, afforded some diversion; which my people could not help showing, by discharging their pistols, &c. in return of the salute. Had it been possible to have landed a few hours sooner, my success would have been complete. Not a single ship, out of more than two hundred, could possibly have escaped, and all the world would not have been able to save the town. What was done, however, is sufficient to show, that not all their boasted navy can protect their own coasts; and that the scenes of distress, which they have occasioned in America, may be soon brought home to their own door. One of my people was missing; and must, I fear, have fallen into the enemies’ hands after our departure.* I was pleased that in this business we neither killed nor wounded any person. I brought off three prisoners as *a sample*.

“ We now stood over for the Scotch shore; and I landed at noon at St. Mary’s Isle, with one boat only, and a very small party. The motives which induced me to land there, are ex-

* In the Ranger’s log-book this man is named David Smith. He is probably the same person who, under the name of Freeman, gave information at several houses in a street adjoining the piers, that fire had been set to a ship, and afterwards other information that appears substantially correct. He must have remained on shore voluntarily. *Note in the Edinburgh Life.*

plained in the within copy of a letter which I have addressed to the Countess of Selkirk, dated the 8th instant.

“On the morning of the 24th, I was again off Carrickfergus, and would have gone in, had I not seen the Drake preparing to come out. It was very moderate, and the Drake’s boat was sent out to reconnoitre the Ranger. As the boat advanced, I kept the ship’s stern directly towards her; and though they had a spy-glass in the boat, they came on within hail, and along side. When the officer came on the quarter deck, he was greatly surprised to find himself a prisoner; although an express had arrived from Whitehaven the night before. I now understood, what I had before imagined, that the Drake came out in consequence of this information, with volunteers, against the Ranger. The officer told me also, that they had taken up the Ranger’s anchor. The Drake was attended by five small vessels full of people, who were led by curiosity to see an engagement. But when they saw the Drake’s boat at the Ranger’s stern, they wisely put back.

“Alarm smokes now appeared in great abundance, extending along on both sides of the channel. The tide was unfavourable, so that the Drake worked out but slowly. This obliged me to run down several times, and to lay with courses up, and main-topsail to the mast. At length the Drake weathered the point, and having led her out to about mid-channel, I suffered her to come within hail. The Drake hoisted English colours, and at the same instant, the American stars were displayed on board the Ranger. I expected that preface had been now at an end, but the enemy soon after hailed, demanding what ship it was? I directed the master to answer, “the American Continental ship Ranger; that we waited for them, and desired that they would come on; the sun was now little more than an hour from setting, it was therefore time to begin.” The Drake being astern of the Ranger, I ordered the helm up, and gave her the first broadside. The action was warm, close, and obstinate. It lasted an hour and four minutes, when the enemy called for quarters; her fore and main-topsail yards being both cut away,

and down on the cap; the top-gallant yard and mizen-gaff both hanging up and down along the mast; the second ensign which they had hoisted shot away, and hanging on the quarter gallery in the water; the jib shot away, and hanging in the water; her sails and rigging entirely cut to pieces; her masts and yards all wounded, and her hull also very much galled. I lost only Lieutenant Wallingsford and one seaman, John Dougall, killed, and six wounded; among whom are the gunner, Mr. Falls, and Mr. Powers, a midshipman, who lost his arm. One of the wounded, Nathaniel Wills, is since dead: the rest will recover. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded, was far greater. All the prisoners allow, that they came out with a number not less than a hundred and sixty men: and many of them affirm that they amounted to a hundred and ninety. The medium may, perhaps, be the most exact account; and by that it will appear that they lost in killed and wounded, forty-two men. The captain and lieutenant were among the wounded; the former, having received a musket ball in the head the minute before they called for quarters, lived, and was sensible some time after my people boarded the prize. The lieutenant survived two days. They were buried with the honours due to their rank, and with the respect due to their memory.

“The night and almost the whole day after the action being moderate, greatly facilitated the refitting of both ships. A large brigantine was so near the Drake in the afternoon, that I was obliged to bring her to. She belonged to Whitehaven, and was bound for Norway.

“I had thought of returning by the south channel; but the wind shifting, I determined to pass by the north, and round the west coast of Ireland. This brought me once more off Belfast Lough, on the evening after the engagement. It was now time to release the honest fishermen, whom I took up here on the 21st. And as the poor fellows had lost their boat, she having sunk in the late stormy weather, I was happy in having it in my power to give them the necessary sum to purchase every thing new which they had lost. I gave them also a good boat to

transport themselves ashore; and sent with them two infirm men, on whom I bestowed the last guinea in my possession, to defray their travelling expenses to their proper home in Dublin. They took with them one of the Drake's sails, which would sufficiently explain what had happened to the volunteers. The grateful fishermen were in raptures; and expressed their joy in three huzzas as they passed the Ranger's quarter.

"I again met with contrary winds in the mouth of the North Channel, but nothing remarkable happened, till on the morning of the 5th, current, Ushant then bearing S. E. by S. distance fifteen leagues, when seeing a sail to leeward steering for the Channel, the wind being favourable for Brest, and the distance trifling, I resolved to give chase, having the Drake in tow. I informed them of my intentions, and ordered them to cast off. They cut the hawser. The Ranger in the chase went lasking between N. N. E. and N. N. W. It lasted an hour and ten minutes, when the chase was hailed and proved a Swede. I immediately hauled by the wind to the southward.

"After cutting the hawser, the Drake went from the wind for some time, then hauled close by the wind, steering from S. S. E. to S. S. W. as the wind permitted, so that when the Ranger spoke the chase, the Drake was scarcely perceptible. In the course of the day many large ships appeared, steering into the Channel, but the extraordinary evolutions of the Drake made it impossible for me to avail myself of these favourable circumstances. Towards noon it became very squally, the wind backed from the S. W. to the W. The Ranger had come up with the Drake, and was nearly abreast of her, though considerably to the leeward, when the wind shifted. The Drake was, however, kept by the wind, though, as I afterward understood, they knew the Ranger and saw the signal which she had hoisted. After various evolutions and signals in the night, I gave chase to a sail which appeared bearing S. S. W. the next morning at a great distance. The chase discovered no intention to speak with the Ranger; she was, however, at length brought to, and proved to be the Drake. I immediately put Lieutenant Simp-

son under suspension and arrest, for disobedience of my orders, dated the 26th ult. a copy whereof is here enclosed. On the 8th, both ships anchored safe in this Road, the Ranger having been absent only twenty-eight days."

The surprise produced in Great Britain by this daring and successful attempt upon her coasts, must have been as great as the latter was unexpected.* His objects were distinctly to strike some bold stroke, which should inspire fear of the American arms, to retaliate for the burning of towns and destruction of private property, to destroy as much public property as he could, and to secure a number of prisoners, as hostages for the better treatment of the captured Americans, who were suffering miserably in the jails and hulks of the enemy. He had wisely calculated on the effect of sudden measures, and the total security and contemptuous confidence of the people, of the fast-anchored isle. The unwarlike character of the inhabitants in the vicinity of the Frith, which had not been entered for centuries by the prow of an invader, rendered the chances of resistance to a brisk attack very small.† Still the extent of Jones' success can-

* It would seem, however, from the following extract from London papers of the 22d February, 1778, that Jones excited some attention in England, before his descent upon Whitehaven. Perhaps the date may be erroneous as to the year.

"Paul Jones is about thirty-six years of age, of a middling stature, well proportioned, with an agreeable countenance; his conversation shows him a man of talents, and that he has got a liberal education. His letters in foreign Gazettes show he can fight with the pen as well as the sword. The famous Captain Cunningham is with him, who escaped out of an English prison."

† The worthy and cautious citizens of Aberdeen were the only persons greatly alarmed on this occasion. In the Scots Magazine for May, 1778, we find the following paragraph :—

"On receiving at Aberdeen intelligence of the plunder of Lord Selkirk's house and the landing at Whitehaven, a hand-bill was circulated

not fail to excite astonishment. It was one of the most impudent attacks since the time of the sea-kings, and it is no wonder that those whose eyes were so rudely opened to a discovery of their weakness, stigmatized it as inglorious, and its conductor as a pirate. It would be a piece of supererogation to offer any vindication of Jones, for doing his adopted country such good service, by the retaliatory descent upon Whitehaven. It was one which he alone could properly execute, from his thorough acquaintance with the localities. The sentimental disgust of those who censured him for availing himself of that very knowledge, and of "stifling his early associations," is natural enough. But war is not waged upon sentimental principles. A notion prevailed at the time that Jones' vessel was a privateer. He was in command of a United States vessel of war, fully commissioned ; and if in performing his duty to the utmost, he conquered the repugnance he might have felt at making a hostile entry among the scenes of his infancy, the merit of his victories is but the more enhanced when he is considered as an officer. Praise too has been so generally awarded to him for the measures he afterwards took, to redeem the plate of the Countess of Selkirk and restore it to its owners, that it is unnecessary to apologize for a transaction which he has so satisfactorily explained. Other officers have enjoyed fair reputations, who made no such sacrifices to restore private property taken by those under their command. One of his first acts on returning to Brest, was to address the countess on the subject, in the well

by order of the Magistrates, to set on foot an association of the inhabitants for defence, and in a few days 120 were enrolled."

The affair never went farther. Another American vessel, which landed a party, and plundered the house of Mr. Gordon, near Banff, must have quickened their apprehensions ; but no alarm was seriously felt till the squadron of Paul Jones appeared in the frith of Forth. Even then the panic was short-lived.

Note in the Edinburgh life.

known letter, which we shall here insert. To be assured of its reaching the lady, he forwarded triplicates, one of which was enclosed open to Dr. Franklin, for his perusal. In the letter enclosing it, he says : " I cannot but feel myself hurt, by the dirty insinuation of the enemy, that my enterprise at Whitehaven was in consequence of a capital sum, paid me in hand by the court of France. They have more visits of the same kind to expect, if I am not deprived of the means of making them, and that too, without my having either a certainty, or a hope of gain."

"TO THE COUNTESS OF SELKIRK.

" Ranger, Brest, May 8th 1778.

"MADAM,

"It cannot be too much lamented, that in the profession of arms, the officer of fine feeling and of real sensibility should be under the necessity of winking at any action of persons under his command, which his heart cannot approve ; but the reflection is doubly severe, when he finds himself obliged, in appearance, to countenance such actions by his authority.

'This hard case was mine, when, on the 23d of April last, I landed on St. Mary's Isle. Knowing Lord Selkirk's interest with his king, and esteeming, as I do, his private character, I wished to make him the happy instrument of alleviating the horrors of hopeless captivity, when the brave are overpowered and made prisoners of war.

"It was, perhaps, fortunate for you, Madam, that he was from home ; for it was my intention to have taken him on board the *Ranger*, and to have detained him until, through his means, a general and fair exchange of prisoners, as well in Europe as in America, had been effected.

"When I was informed, by some men whom I met at landing, that his lordship was absent, I walked back to my boat, determined to leave the island. By the way, however, some officers, who were with me, could not forbear expressing their discontent ; observing that, in America, no delicacy was shown by the English, who took away all sorts of moveable property—

setting fire, not only to towns and to the houses of the rich, without distinction, but not even sparing the wretched hamlets and milch-cows of the poor and helpless, at the approach of an inclement winter. That party had been with me, the same morning, at Whitehaven ; some complaisance, therefore, was their due. I had but a moment to think how I might gratify them, and at the same time do your ladyship the least injury. I charged the two officers to permit none of the seamen to enter the house, or to hurt any thing about it—to treat you, Madam, with the utmost respect—to accept of the plate which was offered—and to come away without making a search, or demanding any thing else.

“I am induced to believe that I was punctually obeyed ; since I am informed, that the plate which they brought away is far short of the quantity expressed in the inventory which accompanied it. I have gratified my men ; and when the plate is sold, I shall become the purchaser, and will gratify my own feelings by restoring it to you, by such conveyance as you shall please to direct.

“Had the earl been on board the *Ranger* the following evening, he would have seen the awful pomp and dreadful carnage of a sea engagement ; both affording ample subject for the pencil, as well as melancholy reflection to the contemplative mind. Humanity starts back from such scenes of horror, and cannot sufficiently execrate the vile promoters of this detestable war.

“For *they*, 'twas *they* unsheath'd the ruthless blade,
And Heaven shall ask the havoc it has made.”

“The British ship of war *Drake*, mounting twenty guns, with more than her full complement of officers and men, was our opponent. The ships met, and the advantage was disputed with great fortitude on each side, for an hour and four minutes, when the gallant commander of the *Drake* fell, and victory declared in favour of the *Ranger*. The amiable lieutenant lay mortally wounded, besides near forty of the inferior officers and crew killed and wounded ; a melancholy demonstration of the uncer-

tainty of human prospects, and of the sad reverse of fortune which an hour can produce. I buried them in a spacious grave, with the honours due to the memory of the brave.

“Though I have drawn my sword in the present generous struggle for the rights of men, yet I am not in arms as an American, nor am I in pursuit of riches. My fortune is liberal enough, having no wife nor family, and having lived long enough to know that riches cannot ensure happiness. I profess myself a citizen of the world, totally unfettered by the little, mean distinctions of climate or of country, which diminish the benevolence of the heart and set bounds to philanthropy. Before this war was begun, I had, at an early time of life, withdrawn from sea service, in favour of “calm contemplation and poetic ease.” I have sacrificed not only my favourite scheme of life, but the softer affections of the heart, and my prospects of domestic happiness, and I am ready to sacrifice my life also, with cheerfulness, if that forfeiture could restore peace and good will among mankind.

“As the feelings of your gentle bosom cannot but be congenial with mine, let me entreat you, Madam, to use your persuasive art, with your husband’s, to endeavour to stop this cruel and destructive war, in which Britain never can succeed. Heaven can never countenance the barbarous and unmanly practice of the Britons in America, which savages would blush at, and which, if not discontinued, will soon be retaliated on Britain by a justly enraged people. Should you fail in this, (for I am persuaded that you will attempt it, and who can resist the power of such an advocate ?) your endeavours to effect a general exchange of prisoners will be an act of humanity which will afford you golden feelings on a death-bed.

“I hope this cruel contest will soon be closed; but should it continue, I wage no war with the fair. I acknowledge their force, and bend before it with submission. Let not, therefore, the amiable Countess of Selkirk regard me as an enemy; I am ambitious of her esteem and friendship, and would do any thing, consistent with my duty, to merit it.

“The honour of a line from your hand in answer to this, will

lay me under a singular obligation ; and if I can render you any acceptable service in France or elsewhere, I hope you see into my character so far as to command me without the least grain of reserve.

“ I wish to know exactly the behaviour of my people, as I am determined to punish them if they have exceeded their liberty. I have the honour to be, with much esteem and with profound respect, Madam, &c. &c.

“ JOHN PAUL JONES.”

As very general publicity was given to this epistle, it is rather surprising to find in Mr. Gouldsborough's Naval Chronicle, which was printed in 1824, the following loose and unexplained notice of the affair. “ It is said that Captain Jones, finding him, (the earl of Selkirk,) absent, took the family plate, and retired, without offering any other violence to the castle or its inhabitants.” It is a pity, that, when every English writer of later years has done justice to Jones, so far as relates to his conduct in this matter, an American work should be in the hands of any of our young officers, which might possibly mislead them, when arraying in the mind's eye the characters of those whose deeds are our country's inheritance, and whose examples they may desire to emulate.

Dr. Franklin wrote to Jones, on receiving the copy of the letter forwarded to him, that “ it was a gallant letter, which must give her ladyship a high opinion of his generosity, and nobleness of mind.” The sage knew that it was in character ; and that the romance of the style, as well as its partial inflation, being unaffected, would not injure the effect it was intended to produce. The subsequent history of this plate is briefly as follows. Lord Selkirk wrote a letter in reply to that addressed by Jones to his Countess, intimating that he would accept of its return, if made by order of Congress, but not if redeemed by individual generosity. The letter was detained several months at London, in the general post-office, and returned to the Earl, who requested a gentleman to communicate the cause of its

miscarriage and its tenor, orally, to Doctor Franklin. The Doctor immediately informed Jones, of the substance of this communication. It was not until the beginning of 1780, that the latter was enabled to get the property he was determined to restore, into his possession. It had fallen into the hands of the prize agents, from whom it was obtained with considerable difficulty ;* and not till after several valuations, and until it cost him who redeemed it, more, as he intimates, than it was intrinsically worth ; though he carefully avoids mentioning that circumstance in his second letter to the Countess.

When he had succeeded in effecting this object, he wrote again to the Countess of Selkirk ; but his voyage to America, and other circumstances, retarded its delivery until 1784. It was eventually returned in the same condition in which it had been removed, and a letter from Lord Selkirk acknowledged in terms satisfactory, though formal, the unwearied pains which Captain Jones had taken to procure its restoration. The correspondence on this subject will be found in the note.†

* A few weeks after his arrival at Brest, he wrote to M. Schweighauser, commercial agent for the commissioners at Nantes, and to the Intendant of Marine at Brest, desiring that the plate, with some baggage and other articles specified should be reserved, and not deposited in the public stores. The request was not complied with. On the 10th of February 1779, the commissioners directed that it should be given up. It would appear by a note from Jones sent a few days after to M. Schweighauser, that he was to settle with him for seventeen twentieths of the captors' moiety of its value. This correspondence would swell this volume unnecessarily. Jones says, in a note to Mr. Williams, that the plate was very old, and the fashion of it not worth a straw, especially in France, where none such was used.

† “ *L'Orient*, March 1st, 1780.

“ THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE COUNTESS OF SELKIRK, }
 &c. &c. ST. MARY'S ISLE, SCOTLAND.

“ MADAM,

“ It is now ten or eleven months since his Excellency Benjamin Franklin, Esq. Minister Plenipotentiary for the United States of

The copy of the order given to Lieutenant Simpson when the latter was put in charge of the *Drake*, for disobeying which he was put under arrest, as is mentioned in the letter to the Plenipotentiaries, is said in the copy of that letter, certified from the office of the secretary of Congress, to be missing. It is intimated, upon what authority does not appear, that Simpson had been insubordinate from the beginning; that he excited the men to discontent; and that frequent disagreements had taken place between him and his commander. It is also plausibly suggested that when the *Ranger* left Portsmouth, he expected to be in command of her on her arriving at France, where a large ship had been promised to Jones. There is every reason to believe that Simpson was little inclined to submit to that disci-

America at the Court of France, communicated to me a message from the earl, your husband, in a letter to his friend, Mr. Alexander, at Paris, in substance as follows:—That he, the earl of Selkirk, had written an answer to the letter that I had the honour to write to your ladyship in May, 1778, from Brest, respecting your plate; which answer, after being detained for several months at London, in the general post-office, had been returned to Scotland. He, therefore, wished Mr. Alexander to inform the concerned, that if the plate was to be restored by Congress, or by any public body, it would be accepted, &c.; but if, through the generosity of an individual, his delicacy would scruple to receive it, &c.

“The true reason why I have not written to you since I received the above information, has been, because the plate is but now come into my possession from the public agents; and I have, besides, been, for the greatest part of the time, absent from this kingdom.

“I have now the satisfaction to inform you, that Congress has relinquished their real or supposed interest in the plate, and, for my own part, I scorn to add to my fortune by such an acquisition. As for the part claimed by the few men who landed with me on St. Mary’s Isle, it is of little consequence, and they are already satisfied. Thus you see, Madam, that the earl’s objection is removed.

“The plate is lodged here, in the hands of Messrs. Gourlade and Moylan, who hold it at your disposal, and will forward it agreeable to

pline, for which Jones was so stern and rigid an advocate. He is probably referred to as the wise officer, who objected to "burning poor people's houses." On the night when Jones made his second attempt to take the Drake while at anchor, he relates in his Journal for the king of France, that "the Lieutenant having held up to the crew, that being Americans, fighting for liberty, the voice of the people should be taken, before the Captain's orders were obeyed, they rose in mutiny; and Captain Jones was in the utmost danger of being killed or thrown overboard." He adds that this danger was averted, by an accidental circumstance,—the capture of the Drake's boat; upon which trifling success, the "voice of the people" was no longer against fighting. The contemptuous neglect of

your orders, by land or by water, to Holland, Ostend, or any other port you think proper.

"I shall be happy, by my conduct through life, to merit the good opinion of the Earl and Countess of Selkirk; for I am, with great esteem and profound respect, Madam, your ladyship's most obedient and most humble servant.

"PAUL JONES."

"*Paris, September 24th, 1784.*

"TO CAPTAIN PAUL JONES, PARIS.

"SIR—M. the Count de Vergennes has delivered to me the letter which you had written to him, to ask his permission to transport by land from L'Orient to Calais, the plate of Lady Selkirk, which you had permitted to be taken by your people during the last war, and which you afterward purchased to return to her ladyship.

"That action, Sir, is worthy of the reputation which you acquired by your conduct, and proves that true valour perfectly agrees with humanity and generosity.

"It gives me pleasure to concur in the execution of this honourable proceeding.

"I have, therefore, given orders to the Farmers General to permit the transportation of the plate from L'Orient to Calais, free of duty, and you may write to your correspondent at L'Orient to deliver it to the

Jones' written instructions, and refusal to obey his signal, certainly authorized the measure of Simpson's arrest, had no other cause of offence been given. Had he obeyed orders, and not separated from the *Ranger*, while she was in chase of several large ships, other prizes would probably have been taken. It was by accident that Jones fell in with the *Drake*, and the intentions of his wandering lieutenant cannot be known. The manner in which he was suffered to act on his return to Brest, and finally allowed to return to America without having ever made a formal apology, was a source, among a thousand other mortifications, of just complaint on the part of the commander.

Indeed, no more disagreeable task can well be imagined,

director of the posts, who will take upon himself the care of having it transported to Calais, and to fulfil all the necessary formalities.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

" DE CALONNE

" *Paris, November 8th, 1784.*

" THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE }
COUNTESS OF SELKIRK. }

" MADAM—Since the moment when I found myself under the necessity to permit my men to demand and carry off your family plate, it has been my constant intention to restore it to you, and I wrote to you to that effect from Brest, the moment I had arrived there from my expedition in the Irish Sea.

" By the letter which I had the honour to write to Lord Selkirk, the 12th of February last, which will accompany this, I have explained the difficulties that prevented the plate from being restored until that time. I had expectation, all the last summer, that opportunities would have offered to send it by sea from L'Orient to London; but being disappointed, I applied to government for leave to transport it through the kingdom by land, and the Duke of Dorset has been so obliging as to write to the custom-house at Dover, requesting them to let it pass to London, without being opened. It is now arrived here, and will be forwarded immediately to your sister in London, under the lead that has

than to collect from the correspondence of Jones the great and petty vexations and series of disappointments to which he was subjected for many months after returning from this brilliant voyage. We shall endeavour to avoid what is superfluous in detail; presenting enough to show the tedious and exasperating character of the difficulties with which he met, and the characteristic manner in which he remonstrated, endured, and persevered. We are much mistaken if it will not appear, that in most cases where he was petulant, it was scarcely in human nature to be otherwise. It was not in that of Washington himself; who, though no money had been supplied to them, often threw censure upon the contractors, when his army was suffering around him. It will also appear, that when Jones made

been affixed to the case that contains it, by the Farmers General at L'Orient, and the seal of the Duke of Dorset, that has been affixed to it here. The charges to London are paid, and I have directed it to be delivered at the house of your sister.

"I could have wished to have ended this delicate business by delivering the plate to you at St. Mary's Isle, in Scotland; but I conform to the arrangement made between Lord Selkirk and Mr. Alexander, because I have no person in London whom I can charge with the transportation of the plate from thence. Enclosed is the inventory that I have just received from Mr. Nesbitt, from L'Orient, which I presume you will find to correspond with the one he sent last year to Lord Dare, and with the articles which you put into the hands of my men.

"I am, Madam, with sentiments of the highest respect,

"Your Ladyship's most obedient

"And most humble servant,

"PAUL JONES."

"*Paris, February 12th, 1784.*

"MY LORD,

"I have just received a letter from Mr. Nesbitt, dated at L'Orient the 4th instant, mentioning a letter to him from your son, Lord Dare, on the subject of the plate that was taken from your house by some of

unadvised charges, he was ready to retract them ; that he was willing to sacrifice his own interest altogether ; and to yield that of which he was most tenacious, rank and authority, rather than not be employed in rendering service to the cause in which he was engaged.

Not only his services, but the political crisis at which they were rendered, entitled him to expect every encouragement and assistance, which either the American commissioners or the the court of France could render him. The former had been in fact acknowledged as Plenipotentiaries more than a month previous. Though no declaration of war between France and England had been solemnly published, war was inevitable, The French Ambassador had been ordered to leave London,

my people when I commanded the *Ranger*, and has been for a long time past in Mr. Nesbitt's care. A short time before I left France to return to America, Mr. W. Alexander wrote me from Paris to L'Orient, that he had, at my request, seen and conversed with your Lordship in England respecting the plate. He said you had agreed that I should restore it, and that it might be forwarded to the care of your sister-in-law, the Countess of Morton, in London. In consequence, I now send orders to Mr. Nesbitt to forward the plate immediately to her care. When I received Mr. Alexander's letter, there was no cartel or other vessel at L'Orient, that I could trust with a charge of so delicate a nature as your plate, and I had great reason to expect I should return to France within six months after I embarked for America ; but circumstances in America prevented my returning to Europe during the war, though I had constant expectation of it. The long delay that has happened to the restoration of your plate has given me much concern, and I now feel a proportionate pleasure in fulfilling what was my first intention. My motive for landing at your estate in Scotland was to take you as a hostage for the lives and liberty of a number of the citizens of America, who had been taken in war on the ocean, and committed to British prisons, under an act of parliament, as *traitors*, *pirates*, and *felons*. You observed to Mr. Alexander, that 'my idea was a mistaken one, because you were not (as I had supposed) in favour with the

and several naval rencontres had in fact taken place; forerunners of the celebrated one between the *Arethusa* and *La Belle Poule*. The squadron of D'Estaing was ready for sea. The news of the result of Jones' expedition was at such a moment gratifying and inspiring to the French court. He had praises and promises in profusion. But he found himself immediately under the pressure of painful embarrassments, which these could not remove. In the conclusion of his letter to the commissioners, on the 27th of May, he says:

"Could I suppose that my letters of the 9th and 16th current, (the first advising you of my arrival, and giving reference to the events of my expedition; the last advising you of my draft in favour of Monsieur Bersolle, for 24,000 livres, and assigning

British ministry, who knew that *you favoured the cause of liberty*.' On that account, I am glad that you were absent from your estate when I landed there, as I bore no personal enmity, but the contrary, towards you. I afterwards had the happiness to redeem my fellow-citizens from Britain, by means far more glorious than through the medium of any single hostage.

"As I have endeavoured to serve the cause of liberty, through every stage of the American revolution, and sacrificed to it my private ease, a part of my fortune, and some of my blood, I could have no selfish motive in permitting my people to demand and carry off your plate. My sole inducement was to turn their attention and stop their rage from breaking out, and retaliating on your house and effects the *too wanton* burnings and desolation that had been committed against their relations and fellow-citizens in America by the British; of which, I assure you, you would have felt the severe consequences had I not fallen on an expedient to prevent it, and hurried my people away before they had time for further reflection. As you were so obliging as to say to Mr. Alexander, that '*my people behaved with great decency at your house*,' I ask the favour of you to announce that circumstance to the public. I am, my lord, wishing you always perfect freedom and happiness, &c. &c.

"PAUL JONES."

reasons for that demand,) had not made due appearance, I would hereafter, as I do now, enclose copies. Three posts have already arrived here from Paris, since Compté d'Orvilliers showed me the answer which he received from the minister, to the letter which enclosed mine to you. Yet you remain silent. M. Bersolle has this moment informed me of the fate of my bills; the more extraordinary, as I have not yet made use of your letter of credit of the 10th of January last, whereby I then seemed entitled to call for half the amount of my last draft, and I did not expect to be thought extravagant, when, on the 16th current I doubled that demand. Could this indignity be kept secret I should disregard it; and, though it is already public in Brest, and in the fleet, as it affects only my private credit I will not

"London, August 4th, 1789.

"MONSIEUR LE CHEVALIER PAUL JONES, A PARIS.

"SIR,—I received the letter you wrote to me at the time you sent off my plate, in order for restoring it. Had I known where to direct a letter to you, at the time it arrived in Scotland, I would then have wrote to you; but not knowing it, nor finding that any of my acquaintance at Edinburgh knew it, I was obliged to delay writing till I came here; when, by means of a gentleman connected with America, I was told M. le Grand was your banker at Paris, and would take proper care of a letter for you; therefore, I enclose this to him.

"Notwithstanding all the precautions you took for the easy and uninterrupted conveyance of the plate, yet it met with considerable delays: first at Calais, next at Dover, then at London; however, it at last arrived at Dumfries, and I dare say quite safe, though as yet I have not seen it, being then at Edinburgh.

"I intended to have put an article in the newspapers about your having returned it; but before I was informed of its being arrived, some of your friends, I suppose, had put it in the Dumfries newspaper, whence it was immediately copied into the Edinburgh papers, and thence into the London ones. Since that time, I have mentioned it to many people of fashion; and, on all occasions, Sir, both now and formerly, I have done you the justice to tell, that you made an offer of returning the plate very soon after your return to Brest; and, although you your-

complain. I cannot, however, be silent, when I find the public credit involved in the same disgrace. I conceive this might have been prevented. To make me completely wretched, Monsieur Bersolle has told me that he now stops his hand, not only of the necessary articles to refit the ship, but also of the *daily provisions*. I know not where to find to-morrow's dinner for the great number of mouths that depend on me for food. Are then the continental ships of war to depend on the sale of their prizes for a daily dinner for their men? 'Publish it not in Gath!'

"My officers, as well as men, want clothes, and the prizes are precluded from being sold before father orders arrive from the minister. I will ask you, gentlemen, if I have deserved all this? Whoever calls himself an American ought to be protected

self was not at my house, but remained at the shore with your boat, that yet you had your officers and men in such extraordinary good discipline, that your having given them the strictest orders to behave well, to do no injury of any kind, to make no search, but only to bring off what plate was given them; that in reality they did exactly as ordered, and that not one man offered to stir from his post on the outside of the house, nor entered the doors, nor said an uncivil word; that the two officers staid not a quarter of an hour in the parlour and butler's pantry, while the butler got the plate together, behaved politely, and asked for nothing but the plate, and instantly marched their men off in regular order, and that both officers and men behaved in all respects so well, that it would have done credit to the best disciplined troops whatever.

"Some of the English newspapers, at that time, having put in confused accounts of your expedition to Whitehaven and Scotland, I ordered a proper one of what happened in Scotland to be put in the London newspapers, by a gentleman who was then at my house, by which the good conduct and civil behaviour of your officers and men was done justice to, and attributed to your order, and the good discipline you maintained over your people.

"I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

"SELKIRK."

here. I am unwilling to think that you have intentionally involved me in this sad dilemma, at a time when I ought to expect some enjoyment. Therefore I have, as formerly, the honour to be, with due esteem and respect, gentlemen, yours, &c."

It is to be observed that before Jones left America, as he mentions in a subsequent letter, he was more than £1500 in advance for the public service,* exclusive of his own investment in fitting out the *Ranger*, and had never received any compensation. He was, however, left, such was the inability of the commissioners to afford him relief, for more than a month, with "two hundred prisoners of war, a number of sick and wounded, and a ship, after a severe engagement, in want of stores and provisions," to depend upon his own resources. "Yet," he says in his journal for the king, "during that time, by his personal credit with Count D'Orvilliers, the Duke de Chartres, and the Intendant of Brest, he fed his people and prisoners, cured his wounded, and refitted both the *Ranger* and *Drake* for sea." During the same period he had also to contend with the formal delays or personal cupidity of the prize agents, and to suppress the discontents among the crew, who were naturally impatient under privation and misery when they had looked for their wages and prize money. These discontents were further aggravated by Lieutenant Simpson, who,† "while under arrest on board the *Drake*, had constant intercourse with the crew, who thereby became so insolent as to refuse duty, and go all hands below, repeatedly, before the Captain's face. It was impossible to trifle at that time, as Count D'Orvilliers had assured Captain Jones, that unless he could get the *Drake* ready to transport the prisoners to America before orders arrived from court, they would in all probability be given up without an exchange, to avoid immediate war with England.‡ It therefore, became

* See Appendix No. VI.

† Journal for the King of France.

‡ A letter on this subject was addressed to M. de Sartine, on the 14th May, by the commissioners, immediately on the receipt of the news that Captain Jones had brought in 200 prisoners. They inquired the opinion of the minister as to what disposition

impossible to suffer the lieutenant to remain any longer among them. Captain Jones had him removed to the ship called the *Admiral*, where the French confine even the first officers in the service. He had there a good chamber to himself, and liberty to walk the deck. The lieutenant endeavoured to desert out of the *Admiral*, and behaved so extravagant, that Count D'Orvilliers, without the knowledge of Captain Jones, ordered him to the prison of the port, where he also had a good chamber; and Captain Jones paid his expenses out of his own pocket." What rendered the dishonour of his draft peculiarly vexatious, independent of the distress to which it exposed him, and the fact that in January preceding he had been furnished with a bill of credit on Jonathan Williams for five hundred louis d'ors, signed by the three commissioners, was the circumstance that he had, under the sanction of the Marine Committee, before leaving Portsmouth, made himself accountable to his crew for the regular payment of their wages. Mr. Arthur Lee is charged with knowing this to be the case, and with not communicating it, when the bill was presented for payment.

In the midst of all these trials of temper, as well as of fortitude and patriotism, Jones was longing to be again employed in active service and in acquiring renown; and was projecting high schemes for annoying the enemy. The friendly assistance of the *Compte D'Orvilliers*, commander-in-chief at Brest, and his chaplain, Father John, who seems to have rendered Jones many services, with the countenance of the Duc de Chartres, and his reliance upon the good faith and practical wisdom of Franklin, contributed to alleviate his anxieties. The situation of the American Commissioners, at this time, (Messrs. Franklin, A. Lee, and Adams, Mr. Deane having been recalled) is well known. Their authority was limited, and the funds subject to their control were still more so. On the 25th May, they wrote to Mr.

would be made of the prisoners, France being yet nominally a neutral power. The letter will be found in Mr. Sparks' *Diplomatic Correspondence*, Vol. I. p. 392.

Jonathan Williams, at Nantes, whom they had appointed commercial agent, as follows: "the necessities of our country demand the utmost frugality, which can never be obtained without the utmost simplicity in the management of her affairs; and as Congress have authorized Mr. W. Lee to superintend the commercial affairs in general, and he has appointed Mr. Schweighauser, and as your authority is under the commissioners at Paris only, we think it prudent and necessary to revoke, &c. all the powers and authorities heretofore granted to you, &c. to the end that hereafter the management of the affairs, commercial and maritime, of America, may be under one sole direction, that of Mr. Schweighauser, within his district." "We shall this day acquaint Captain Jones how far it is in our power to comply with his desires, and in what manner.*

Such was the position in which Jones found himself, after his return to Brest. In citing such extracts from his correspondence, as explain the multifarious difficulties and projects of this period, there seems to be but one mode of avoiding confusion, which is to preserve chronological order. His first object was to make provision for the seamen. In mentioning to the commissioners in his letter of May 16th, that he had drawn for the 24,000 livres, he says: "I mean to distribute it among the officers and crew, to whom I owe my late success. It is but reasonable that they should be furnished with the means of procuring little necessities and comforts of life for themselves; and the interests of the service, as well as the claims of humanity and justice, plead in behalf of their wives and helpless families, who are now unprovided in America, and will naturally expect a supply of clothing, &c. by the Drake." It is creditable to his humanity, that the next point which he pressed most earnestly upon the commissioners, was the propriety of treating the prisoners with kindness and attention. He was altogether averse to releasing them, particularly the seamen, without an exchange.

* Diplomatic Correspondence, I. 397.

In forwarding, afterwards, their memorial he says: "The fellow who holds the rod over their wretched heads, has menaced them, 'if they dare to complain,' and would have intercepted their memorial, had I not prevented it. This R10U is the scoundrel who, by his falsehood, promoted discord in the Ranger, and got the deluded people to appoint him their particular agent. Before that time he never could call twenty louis his own, and he is now too rich for his former profession of King's interpreter. He does not deny that he is a scoundrel, for so I have called him more than once before witnesses, and so every person of sense thinks him at Brest. If the exchange of prisoners does not take place immediately, I conceive it would be the most eligible method to have the people on board the *Patience* landed. They are convinced, that if you should think fit to return them an answer, it will never come to their hands through the means of any person who calls himself an agent at Brest, and they having full confidence in the honour and humanity of Father John, professor of English, and chaplain to Compte D'Orvilliers at Brest, have desired me to inform you, that through that gentleman they beg you to favour them with an answer. In granting their request you will confer a very singular obligation on me."

On the 27th May, Franklin wrote to Jones as follows: "Dear Sir, I received your's of the 18th, inclosing one for the Countess of Selkirk, which I forward this day, via Holland. It is a gallant letter, and must give her ladyship a high and just opinion of your gallantry and nobleness of mind. The dirty insinuation you mention, is of a piece with many others from the same quarter, the natural produce of base minds; who, feeling no other motive in their own breasts, but sordid self interest, imagine no other motive can exist in others, and therefore, it is to that alone, they ascribe the most praiseworthy actions.*

"The Jersey privateers do us a great deal of mischief by

* He refers to the misrepresentations of the English papers, mentioned in a letter of Jones already introduced.

intercepting our supplies. It has been mentioned to me, that your small vessel, commanded by so brave an officer, might render great service, by following them where greater ships dare not venture their bottoms; or, being accompanied and supported by some frigates from Brest, at a proper distance, might draw them out and then take them. I wish you to consider of this, as it comes from *high authority*, and that you would immediately think of it, and let me know when your ship will be ready. I have written to England about the exchange of your prisoners. I congratulate you most cordially on your late success, and wish for a continuance and increase of the honour you have acquired."

While the matter and manner of the beginning of this letter were well calculated to give Jones pleasure, his own phraseology being nearly echoed, it afforded no prospect of immediate relief. No mention is made of the draft; and the service proposed was not of such a character as was particularly calculated to gratify the appetite of any ambitious commander, just flushed with success; much less that of Jones, who would thus have been made subservient to the objects of others, who would reap the glory, while he was playing the humbler part of hunting out game for them. In his reply, however, he declares his readiness to comply, while he intimates very plainly his longing for more dignified employment. This is not unskillfully introduced. The letter, dated June 1st, is as follows.

"HIS EXCELLENCY BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

"Honoured and dear Sir—Accept my grateful thanks for your much esteemed favour of 27th ult. Such a mark of your good opinion and approbation, really affords me the most heartfelt satisfaction. It shall always be my ambition to do my duty, as far as my judgment and small abilities enable me;—but you will see by the within papers, that my roses are not without thorns; and, perhaps, it will seem romance that I have succeeded, which I am sure I should not have done, had I not been my own counsellor.

“Nothing would give me more pleasure than to render essential services to America, in any measure which you may find expedient. Should I be able to lead my present crew, it can be done only by the seldom failing bait for sordid minds, *great views of interest*.

“If in bringing about the plan you propose, I may take the liberty to assure them of the protection of the French flag, in the channel, against enemies of superior force, with the free liberty to attack, and take under that sanction, such of the enemy’s ships of war, or merchantmen, as may be met with, of equal or inferior force, perhaps I may succeed and gain them over by that means, nor will it be necessary to tell them our real object.

“If I am not at liberty to give them such assurances, and their *home-sickness* should continue, I could wish that such officers as may appear *dangerously ill*, might have liberty to lay down their commissions and warrants, and that others may be given to men of stronger nerves, who would be too proud to think themselves servants by the year. I believe many such may be found among American subjects in France.

“If it should be consistent to order the Boston frigate here from Bourdeaux, perhaps such exchanges might be made, as would be for the interest and harmony of the service; and we might perhaps be able to assemble a sufficient number of officers to form a court.

“The Duc de Chartres has shown me sundry attentions, and expressed his inclination to facilitate my obtaining the ship built at Amsterdam. I believe I could easily obtain letters to the same effect, from the principal people here, but shall take no step without your approbation. If the prisoners should be exchanged in Europe, I believe it would be possible to man that ship with Americans. I could have manned two such with French volunteers since I arrived.

“The Ranger is crank, sails slow, and is of a trifling force. Most of the enemy’s cruisers are more than a match, yet I mean not to complain. I demand nothing; and although I know that

it was the intention of Congress to give me that ship, I am now ready to go wherever the service calls me.

“If two or three fast sailing ships could be collected, there is a great choice of private enterprises, some of which might succeed, and add more to the interest and honour of America, than cruising with twice the force. It appears to me to be the province of our infant navy to surprise, and spread alarms with fast sailing ships. When we grow stronger, we can meet their fleets, and dispute with them the sovereignty of the ocean. These are my private sentiments, and are therefore submitted with the utmost diffidence to your superior understanding.

“Both the *Ranger* and the *Drake* were so much disabled, that they needed to be entirely new rigged. We, however, made shift from the wreck of both ships, to rig the *Drake*, which is now completed. The *Ranger*’s late rigging was twice laid and much too thick and heavy. The refitting her shall be continued with unremitting application.” He thus complains of the detention of the captors’ part of one of the *Ranger*’s prizes by Mr. Delap, a nominal sub-prize agent, and of the sacrifice of another prize at Nantes. Half the proceeds of the latter was all the prize money yet received. In a postscript he says: “The written papers I send you in confidence; leaving it to you to show them or not to such persons as you may think proper.”

These inclosures contained plans for various expeditions. “Three very fast sailing frigates, with one or two tenders, might enter the Irish channel and burn at Whitehaven from two to three hundred ships, besides the town, which contains 50,000 inhabitants; this would render it difficult, if not impossible to supply Ireland with coal the ensuing winter.

“The same force would be sufficient to take the bank of Ayr in Scotland, and to destroy the town: or perhaps, the whole shipping in the Clyde, with the towns and stores of Greenock and Port Glasgow, provided no alarm was first given at other places. The fishery at Cambletown is an object worthy attention, and in some of the ports of Ireland, ships may perhaps be found worth from 150,000 to 200,000 livres each.”

As the preparations for these enterprises would require time, he suggested that immediately, with an inferior force, the east and north coasts of England and Scotland might be alarmed, several towns burned or laid under contribution, and the coal shipping of Newcastle destroyed. If these plans should be thought inexpedient, the enemy's West India or Baltic fleets, or Hudson Bay ships might be intercepted, or the Greenland fishery destroyed ; all of which, he says, "were capital objects."

If none of these projects were very magnificent, Jones would have had the sole conduct of them ; and he felt himself able to effect them with a comparatively small force ; on which account he must have preferred the least brilliant, to acting in the subordinate capacity proposed to him.

The letter addressed by the commissioners to Jones, on the 25th of May, referred to in their letter to Mr. Jonathan Williams, of the same date, is not among any of the published documents or manuscripts before the compiler. In it, according to their letter to Mr. Williams, they "acquainted Captain Jones how far it was in their power to comply with his desires, and in what manner." He thus wrote in reply, on the 3d June.

"GENTLEMEN,

"Your letter of the 25th ult. I received by yesterday's post. I frankly ask your pardon for the undue liberty I took the 16th ult. when I ventured to sign a draft upon you for the purpose of supplying the people under my command with necessary clothing, &c. ; and I promise you never to be guilty of the like offence again. I hope you do not, however, mean to impute to me a desire to receive 'presents of the public money ;' or even to touch a dollar of it, for any private purpose of my own. On the contrary, I need not now assert, that I stepped forth at the beginning, from nobler motives. My accounts, before I left America, testify that I am more than fifteen hundred pounds in advance for the public service, exclusive of any concern with the Ranger ; and as for wages, I never received any. Had I not previously determined to keep the prisoners

here, they would have been sent away in the Drake, long before now. My embarrassed situation will, in the eyes of candour, apologize for my not sending you a more early information of the particulars of my cruise, and of the prizes which I have made. On my passage from America I took two brigantines, both from Malaga for England. The one arrived safe at Nantes; and being sold by Messrs. Morris and Williams, the captors' part was paid to them. The other arrived at Bourdeaux, and was, I understand, sold by Mr. J. H. Delap, who, though he had my orders to remit the captors' part immediately, into the hands of Mr. Williams of Nantes, yet still retains it in his own hands. On my late expedition, three prizes were sunk. The ship Lord Chatham was sent here (to Brest) to remain under the care of the Intendant. She now remains in the port, locked and nailed up under a guard. The ship of war Drake, with her stores on board, and the brigantine Patience in ballast, are with the Ranger at anchor in the Road. M. de Sartine can inform you that the sales of the prizes are precluded, until he sends further orders here. Had it been otherwise, I cannot see how you could suppose that I had created agents to dispose of the public property. And yet if I had done this, perhaps my public wants would justify me.

"The rules whereby Congress have been pleased to command me to regulate my conduct in the navy, authorize me to issue my warrant to the agent, &c. and I humbly conceive that it is his province to furnish me with an estimate of the amount of expenses. If you wish for an estimate from me, unacquainted as I am with prizes, besides the delay, it may be very far from exact.

"When you determined to change the continental agent, I could wish you had sent that information in a letter to meet me here on my arrival, as I had advised you of my intention to return to Brest. All disagreeable altercation might then have been avoided. My situation is not now mended by your last, the gentleman you mention being at Nantes, and no person appearing in his behalf at Brest.

"A space of sixteen months is now elapsed, since Congress thought of me, and placed under my command *seven times* my present force, leaving me at full liberty, how, and where to apply it. And if I am not now capable of supporting the internal government of a single sloop of war, I wish that some person more deserving had my place, and I in America to answer for my misconduct. I have 'well considered,' and yet I shall persist in justifying the steps I have taken, and to which you allude. * *

"If you are in possession of any resolution of Congress, which will authorize me to send Lieutenant Simpson to America, &c. I should be obliged to you for a copy of it."

The change of commercial agents seems to have been peculiarly disagreeable to Jones, on several accounts. He paid no attention to two letters from Mr. Schweighauser, at Nantes, (who had been appointed agent within a certain district by Mr. W. Lee,) until he had been officially directed to recognise him by the commissioners. He then wrote to him as follows, obviously under an irritation of feeling.

"*Brest, 4th June, 1778.*

"SIR—Your letter of the 12th ult. duly appeared ; but as the purport of it seemed rather to intimate your *desire to sell my prizes at a distance*, than to manifest your inclination to furnish the daily supplies of provisions for my people and prisoners, and the stores and provision of every kind, necessary to refit the continental ship *Ranger*, after an obstinate engagement, I thought it required no answer ; especially as I had no letter from the commissioners on the subject ; and had the commissioners still remained silent, neither could I have given a satisfactory answer to your last of 31st ult. which has this moment come to my hand. That letter, Sir, seems in the same strain with the former ; but some part of it, I freely confess, is above my language or comprehension, when you express yourself thus : 'That I may take the necessary

measures to assure us the *propriety* of these captures.* As I am not charged with having infringed the laws of government, I think your postscript might have been spared.

“ In a word, if you consider yourself the agent or instrument for victualling and repairing the ships of war of the American navy, as I came here in distress the 8th ult. in want of provisions, with a number of wounded men and prisoners, you have not done your duty ; as you have not, to this hour, given or offered me any assistance ; whereby you have occasioned a loss of money and time to the United States. It was your duty to have appeared on the spot, and to have ministered to our wants. If, on the contrary, as I rather think, you consider yourself only as the instrument for selling the continental part of prizes, yet in this case, too, you have not done your duty. It was your duty to have appeared at Brest, to have taken care of the public property, and to have brought on the sales ; whereas some of it may now be perishing, through your absence and neglect. I have been thus explicit, that you may not henceforth misunderstand me ; and that, so far as we may be connected, we may henceforth co-operate for the public good of the American United States.”

On the 1st of June, the same day on which Jones had written to Franklin, in reply to a letter suggesting enterprises of an humbler character, that real friend of his, who best understood his genius and his temperament, communicated to him intelligence calculated to awaken higher hopes, and to console him for all his mortifications. His pride was gratified, and he was at liberty to indulge in dreams of glory. This was all ; for he

* As we cannot suppose that Jones would have condescended to a vulgar sneer, it is obvious that he was too much vexed to perceive that M. Schweighauser, who thought in one language, while writing in another, and whose letters in English are curiously inaccurate, meant to use the harmless word *property*, instead of that which gave so much offence.

was destined to endure a new and long series of disappointments. The letter of Franklin was as follows:

(PRIVATE.)

“DEAR SIR,

“I have the pleasure of informing you, that it is proposed to give you the command of the great ship we have built at Amsterdam. By what you wrote to us formerly, I have ventured to say in your behalf, that this proposition would be agreeable to you. You will immediately let me know your resolution; which, that you may be more clear in taking, I must inform you of some circumstances. She is at present the property of the king; but as there is no war yet declared, you will have the commission and flag of the States, and act under their orders and laws. The Prince de Nassau will make the cruise with you. She is to be brought here under cover as a French merchantman, to be equipped and manned in France. We hope to exchange your prisoners for as many American sailors; but if that fails, you have your present crew to be made up here with other nations and French. The other commissioners are not acquainted with this proposition as yet; and you see by the nature of it, that is necessary to be kept a secret till we have got the vessel here, for fear of difficulties in Holland, and interception; you will therefore direct your answer to me alone. It being desired that the affair should rest between you and me, perhaps it may be best for you to take a trip up here to concert matters, if in general you approve the idea.

“I was much pleased with reading your journal, which we received yesterday.”

Jones wrote in reply, on the 6th, as follows: “Your much esteemed favour lays me under a most singular obligation. I cannot but be deeply sensible of the honour conferred upon me by the proposition; and I really think it affords a very fair prospect of success. In a few days, the return of a letter from Mr. Schweighauser will, I hope, enable me to leave affairs here, so as to attend you at Paris. I shall be happy in all opportu-

nities to prove, by my conduct, how much I wish to merit your confidence, and that of the Prince."

On the 10th June, Franklin again wrote to Jones, confirming his expectations of receiving the promised command.

Passy, June 10th, 1778.

"DEAR SIR,

"I received your's of 1st instant, with the papers enclosed, which I have shown to the other commissioners, but have not yet had their opinion of them; only I know that they had before (in consideration of the disposition and uneasiness of your people) expressed an inclination to order your ship directly back to America. You will judge from what follows, whether it will not be advisable *for you to propose* their sending her back with her people, and under some other command. In consequence of the high opinion the Minister of the Marine has of your conduct and bravery, it is now settled (observe, that is to be a secret between us, I being expressly enjoined not to communicate it to any other person,) that you are to have the frigate from Holland, which actually belongs to government, and will be furnished with as many good French seamen as you shall require. But you are to act under Congress commission. As you may like to have a number of Americans, and your own are home-sick, it is proposed to give you as many as you can engage out of two hundred prisoners, which the ministry of Britain have at length agreed to give us in exchange for those you have in your hands. They propose to make the exchange at Calais, where they are to bring the Americans. Nothing is wanting to this but a list of yours, containing their names and rank; immediately on the receipt of which an equal number are to be prepared, and sent in a ship at that port, where your's are to meet them.

"If by this means you can get a good new crew, I think it would be best that you are quite free of the old; for a mixture might introduce the infection of that sickness you complain of. But this may be left to your own discretion. Perhaps we shall

join you with the Providence, Captain Whipple, a new continental ship of 30 guns, which, in coming out of the river of Providence, gave the two frigates that were posted to intercept her each of them so heavy a dose of her 18 and 12 pounders, that they had not the courage, or were not able, to pursue her. It seems to be desired that you will step up to Versailles, (where one will meet you,) in order to such a settlement of matters and plans with those who have the direction as cannot well be done by letter. I wish it may be convenient to you to do it immediately.

“ The project of giving you the command of this ship pleases me the more, as it is a probable opening to the higher preferment you so justly merit.”

It will be observed that this negotiation of Franklin with the French ministry, was unknown to Messrs. Lee and Adams. It seems, too, not to have been communicated to them before the 16th, that Jones was to have command of the frigate at Amsterdam; as we find a letter from them addressed to him on that day,* signed by all the commissioners, directing him to make preparations for a voyage to America with all despatch, *in the ship then under his command*, containing various instructions, formal, and in the nature of suggestions, and advising him to keep his destination secret. It could not have been intended by Franklin and Sartine, that he should return in the Ranger, as the subsequent correspondence will show. Jones stood likewise too high in importance, to be despatched home in that vessel. He had previously been in direct correspondence with M. De Sartine. On the 31st March previous, he had written to him from Brest, enclosing a copy of the letter from the secret committee of Congress, with other documents; acknowledging the attentions and favours he had received from Admiral Comte D'Orvilliers, M. De la Porte, M. la Motte Picquet, and every other officer of distinction in the port; and adverting to a project of his, com-

* Diplomatic Correspondence, I. 398.

municated to the minister through the admiral, the nature of which he does not specify. There can be no doubt that the minister wished to secure the services of Jones, and to retain him in readiness to execute whatever enterprise events might indicate as best suited to his daring spirit and practical skill. His late successes had made an impression which had a specific value; and the offer of the Prince of Nassau to serve under him, is a sufficient proof of the estimation in which he was held at Court. Under the then existing circumstances, it would have been a loss to send him to America, with a small force, merely as a bearer of despatches, with the precarious chance of making a few stray prizes, or striking unimportant blows. Yet, notwithstanding that after the withdrawal of the ambassadors, the nations felt that hostilities must ensue, political considerations withheld either from being the first to acknowledge its belligerent attitude. The affair on the 17th June, between the Belle Poule and the Arethusa, and the capture on the same and the following day, by the English, of the Licorne and Pallas frigates, in which each party charged the other of being the aggressor, brought matters nearer to a crisis. The engagements between the fleets under Keppel and D'Orvilliers followed, and it soon became no longer necessary to moot questions of national law, as to the disposition of prisoners brought into French ports by American cruisers.*

* On accidentally looking for a date into the newspaper historian Bissett, whose compilation our wise booksellers, for lack of a better, bind up with Hume and Smollet, I find an amusing notice of Jones and his adventures. "The American *privateers*," says this plunderer of old gazettes, "trusting to the alliance with France, came this year to the coast of Europe, and committed various depredations. The most daring commander of *these* ships, was the noted adventurer Paul Jones. This person *had been gardener to the Earl of Selkirk*, at a seat near Kircudbright, on the southwest coast of Scotland. Leaving his employment abruptly, on account of some umbrage which he had conceived against the family, he had betaken himself to sea; and by professional skill, together with intrepid boldness, arrived at the appointment which he then held. Directing his efforts against the coasts with which he was best acquainted, he landed at Whitehaven in Cumberland, and set fire to a ship in the harbour, with the intention of burning the town; *but was driven away by the inhabitants*. From thence he proceeded

Previous to leaving Brest for Versailles, Jones says in his Journal for the king, that "finding the lieutenant appeared more reasonable than formerly, he took his parole in writing, not to serve again in the navy before he was acquitted by a court-martial, and set him at liberty. A day or two afterwards, the commissioners thought fit to interfere respecting the lieutenant of the Ranger, which, it is presumed, they had no authority to do, as it laid the axe to the root of subordination."

He proceeds to say, that "having the prisoners still under his care, the prizes being unsold, and the crew naked, Captain Jones, having completely refitted the Ranger, had no immediate business at Brest; and therefore went privately up to Versailles, on the invitation of the Court." On the 16th June, he addressed the following letter to the commissioners, from Passy.

"GENTLEMEN,

"At the time when I took Lieutenant Simpson's parole, I did not expect to have been so long absent from America; but as circumstances have now rendered the time of my return less certain, I am willing to let the dispute between us drop for ever, by giving up that parole, which will entitle him to command the Ranger. I have no malice, and if I have done him any injury, this will be making him all the present satisfaction in my power. If on the contrary, he has injured me, I will trust to himself for an acknowledgment."

On the 29th Jones wrote to the commanding officers of the Ranger, informing them that he had obtained permission from the French ministry, to dispose of the prizes to the best advantage, without their being subject to any expense in the admiralty courts, and had made other arrangements for the advantage of

over Solway Frith, to the seat of Lord Selkirk, and *pillaged the house* of all the plate, jewels, and other valuable effects, &c." The veracious historian says nothing of the capture of the Drake, as a matter of course. Candour, however, must confess that there are fewer mistatements in the foregoing paragraph, than in many others of equal length, which might be selected from the same work.

the captors. "It shall be my care to get the prisoners exchanged as soon as possible, to realize our prizes, and to obtain leave to return on a cruise to America. All this I believe I shall very soon be able to effect, and therefore you may publish it in the ship, for the general happiness and satisfaction. There will, I am persuaded, be nothing to interfere with our proceeding to America, unless the *Ranger* should be previously employed as a cartel, in the approaching exchange of prisoners. This may or may not happen ; and as it will be a work of little time, and of no danger, it cannot but be agreeable to the feelings of humanity. It might, I think, be accomplished, before the prizes can be realized. I only wait here for the list of the prisoners which I wrote for some time ago, and which I hope will be very exact." He then gives instructions as to details, and among others, requests that certain articles, including the plate, should be carefully stored and reserved, until his return to Brest.

On the 4th of July, he wrote to the commissioners as follows :

"GENTLEMEN,

"When Congress thought proper to order me to France, it was proposed that the *Ranger* should remain under my direction, and be commanded by a lieutenant. And as the French ministry have now in contemplation plans which promise honour to the American flag, the *Ranger* might be very useful to assist in carrying them into execution. Lieutenant Simpson has certainly behaved amiss ; yet I can forgive, as well as resent ; and upon his making a proper concession, I will, with your approbation, not only forgive the past, but leave him the command of the *Ranger*. By this means, and by some little promotions and attentions, that may be consistent, I hope to be able to satisfy the *Ranger's* crew, so that they will postpone their return as long as the service may require."

Whatever may have been the private conferences between Franklin and the French minister, the object which the commissioners had in view in common, was plainly to pacify the

crew of the *Ranger*, to retain as many of her able seamen as were willing to serve, and to send her home after the exchange of prisoners. On the 16th June, Franklin had written to Mr. David Hartley, in consequence of advices from him that the British ministry had agreed to an exchange of prisoners, proposing the manner of effecting it, and offering the solemn engagement of the commissioners, that if the British government would give up all their prisoners at once, a number of British sailors equal to the surplus should be delivered to Lord Howe in America, or to his order, as soon as the agreement should arrive there.* These arrangements would naturally occupy some little time; and meanwhile the crew of the *Ranger* were, as Jones says, "naked," and discontented.

The very event which arrayed the fleets of France and England against each other, deprived Jones of the command of the 'great ship' at Amsterdam. He says in his Journal for the king: "the action of the *Belle Poule*, which began the war between France and England, deranged the plan in contemplation, and greatly interfered with the views of court respecting Captain Jones. It was understood the States of Holland made great difficulty, respecting the *Indien*, that still remained at Amsterdam. Captain Jones offered to give up the project, and return to the *Ranger*. To prevent this, the minister wrote a letter to the commissioners, requesting their permission for Captain Jones to remain for a time in Europe, where he would be honourably employed to promote the common cause."

The embryo schemes agitated between Jones, Franklin, and the Minister, whatever they may have been, were abandoned, as well as the command of the *Indien*. In reply to the request of the latter, above alluded to, the commissioners acquiesced, in the following terms. "We readily consent that he should be at your excellency's disposition; and shall be happy if his services may be in any respect useful to the designs your excellency may have in contemplation."

* Diplomatic Correspondence, I. 400.

On the 17th July, a few days after, Jones wrote himself, to make his acknowledgements to the minister. He speaks of his return in the *Ranger* as a thing in immediate contemplation. It is obvious that he desired to quicken the movements of the minister, and to induce him to prevent his departure by conferring a real appointment, in lieu of holding out shadowy and changeful promises.

“ Passy, July 17th, 1778.

“ M. DE SARTINE,

“ My Lord—I should be ungrateful did I not return my thanks for your kind and generous intentions in my favour. My greatest ambition would be to merit your future approbation, by my services against the common enemy of France and America. Had your first plan taken effect, the most pleasing prospect of success would have been before me. But that now seems a distant object.

“ I have no doubt, that many projects might be formed from the hints which I had the honour of sending lately for your inspection : had I been intrusted with the chief command, I would have held myself responsible for consequences.

“ I am bound in honour to communicate faithfully to Congress the generous offer which the King now makes, of lending the *Epervier* in the meantime to be employed under my command, under the flag of America. I would thankfully have accepted this offer, the moment it was communicated to me, had no difficulties occurred on account of the situation of the American funds. I have now under my command a ship bound to America. On my arrival there, from the former confidence of Congress, I have reason to expect an immediate removal into one of their best ships. I have reason to expect the chief command of the first squadron destined for an expedition, having in my possession several similar appointments ; and when Congress see fit to appoint admirals, I have assurance that my name will not be forgot. These are flattering prospects to a man who has drawn his sword only upon principles of philanthropy,

and in support of the dignity of human nature. But as I prefer a solid to a shining reputation, a useful to a splendid command, I hold myself ready, with the approbation of the commissioners, to be governed by you in any measures that may tend to distress and humble the common enemy."

The offer of the *Epervier*, for the reasons assigned by Jones, was little more than a compliment. The ratifications of the treaties between the United States and France, were exchanged on the same day on which the foregoing letter was written. War had not even yet been formally declared, but had in fact begun at sea, with large preparations on both sides. A violent impress had been made in England among the crews of merchantmen, and France required all her own seamen. The commissioners, or more properly, the plenipotentiaries, found great difficulty in procuring loans, even in small amounts, and were apprehensive that they would not be able to meet the drafts of Congress for the interest of certificates. In their letter to the President of Congress, communicating this intelligence, they mentioned that the only two commercial agents in France, were Mr. John Bonfield of Bordeaux, and Mr. J. D. Schweighauser at Nantes, both appointed by Mr. William Lee; and recommended the appointment of consuls.*

Negotiations on various points, growing out of the treaties, the intimation that England would recognise the independence of America, provided the latter would make a separate peace, and the immediate necessity of procuring funds, at this time fully occupied the attention of the commissioners. M. de Sartine entertained one of the numerous projects which Jones had submitted to him, either to appease his impatience, or with the real intention of carrying it into execution. This was the capture or destruction of the Baltic fleet. He says, in his *Journal* for the king of France, "for this object three frigates and two cutters were destined; and Captain Jones appointed to command the whole. One of the frigates lay at Brest, which

* Diplomatic Correspondence, I. 407.

he was to command in person, and join the other two, and the cutter at St. Malo. Two days before Captain Jones returned to Brest, Count D'Orvilliers having returned from his first cruise and the battle of Ushant, had given the command of the frigate in question to a French officer. The Minister of the Marine, finding many difficulties he had not foreseen, from the cabals of French officers for commands, sent orders for the frigates and cutters to proceed from St. Malo, under the command of the senior captain, against the Baltic fleet. That force sailed round the east of England, north of Scotland, and west of Ireland, without having succeeded."

So confident was he that he would be employed in this expedition, that he made inquiries for a chaplain. The qualifications he desired to find in such an officer, he thus mentions in writing to a friend: "I should wish him to be a man of reading and letters, who understands, speaks, and writes the French and English with elegance and propriety. For political reasons, it would be well if he were a clergyman of the Protestant profession, whose sanctity of manners, and happy natural principles would diffuse unanimity and cheerfulness through the ship; and if to these essentials were added the talent of writing fast, and in fair characters, such a man would necessarily be worthy the highest confidence, and might, therefore, assure himself of a place at my table, the regulations whereof should be entirely under his direction." On the 6th August, he also wrote to General Washington informing him of his reasons for continuing in service in Europe, and begging his acceptance of two epaulettes, which he had expected to deliver himself, and which Mr. Williams had undertaken to forward.*

On the 10th August, Jones left Passy for Brest, in the anticipation of receiving this command, and was disappointed in the

* I find these letters, in the life published by Murray in 1825.

manner he has mentioned. It may readily be supposed, that he was not in the best possible humour to brook what he conceived to be a downright indignity offered to himself. Yet such he had to encounter. It will be recollected that on the 16th June, he had offered to give up the parole of Lieutenant Simpson, and on the 4th July, had consented to let him take command of the ship. The lieutenant was not backward in accepting these concessions, and it appears he went much farther. Jones says, "he took command of the *Ranger*, without accepting the captain's proposal, or having his parole *given up*. On the contrary, it seemed afterwards he rather gave out that Captain Jones had been called to account by the commissioners, and turned out to make way for him !" He wrote to the commissioners on this subject, in these terms.

" Brest, August 15th, 1778.

" GENTLEMEN,

"I have been five days in this place since my return from Passy, during which time I have neither seen nor heard from Lieutenant Simpson; but Mr. Hill, who was last winter at Passy, and who sailed with me from Nantes, informs me truly, that it is generally reported in the *Ranger*, and of course throughout the French fleet, and on shore, that I am turned out of the service; that you, gentlemen, have given Mr. Simpson my place, with a captain's commission, and that my letter to you of the 16th July was involuntary on my part, and in obedience only to your orders.

"That these reports prevail, is not an idle conjecture, but a melancholy fact. Therefore I beseech you; I demand of you to afford me redress—redress by a court martial; to form which we have now, with the assistance of Captain Hinman, Captain Read, as also them at Nantes, a sufficient number of officers in France, exclusive of myself. The Providence and Britain are expected here very soon from Nantes, and I am certain that they neither can nor will again depart, before my friend Captain Hinman can come down here; and it is his unquestioned right to succeed me in the *Ranger*.

"I have faithfully and personally supported and fought the dignified cause of human nature, ever since the American banners first waved on the Delaware and on the ocean. This I did when that man did not call himself a republican, but left the continent, and served its enemies ; and this I did when this man appeared backward, and did not support me as he ought.

"I conclude by requesting you to call before you, and examine for your own satisfaction, Mr. Edward Meyers, who is now at the house of the Swedish Ambassador, and who, having been with me as a volunteer, can and will, I am persuaded, represent to you the conduct of the officers and men towards me, both before I left Brest, and afterwards in the Irish channel, as well as my conduct towards them.—I have the honour to be, &c. &c
"Their Excellencies the American Plenipotentiaries."

On the 18th August, he wrote to Captain Abraham Whipple, then at Brest, requesting that a court martial might be summoned for the trial of Simpson ; and the commissioners gave directions to the same effect, provided there was a sufficient number of officers to constitute one. At the same time they directed that no change should take place in the command of the Ranger, until the trial should be over, nor then, should the lieutenant be acquitted. Captain Whipple in a letter to Jones, explained the impossibility of calling a court, as Captain Hinman, who expected a court of inquiry into his own conduct, on his return to America, declined sitting. He also added that in his opinion Jones had given up the parole of Simpson, in the most ample manner, without asking for concessions, and that the commissioners understood it in the same light.* The unimpassioned reader will probably coincide in opinion with Captain Whipple. But under the pressure of so many disappointments, and finding himself without any ship at all, the reports which fell upon the ear of Jones as to the lieutenant's misstatements of what had been magnanimity on his part, would have

* Diplomatic Correspondence, I. 400.

stung to anger one of a far less hasty temper. The seemingly insulting triumph of Simpson was neither quietly to be endured, nor soon forgotten.

It did not enter into Jones' sense of what was due to his rank and self respect, to seek satisfaction to the injury of the service, from one whom he conceived he had laid under unmerited obligations. Lieutenant Simpson sailed in the *Ranger* for America. On the 30th August, the Captain's friend Mr. Williams, writing to him from Nantes in relation to the pending sale of the *Drake*, said: "I am sorry your affair with Lieutenant Simpson was not settled with mutual satisfaction. If he was not gone, I should answer his charge of falsehood with the following paragraph of his own letter to me, of the 1st August, to mine, which you say he calls false, viz: 'I recollect my telling you when at Brest, that if Captain Jones had condescended to have made any inquiry, or permitted me to speak to him on the matter of my confinement, I was ready to give him any satisfaction consonant to truth.' It is strange he should recollect this when he wrote me the letter, and forget it again when he told Mr. Hill it was false. Lieutenant Simpson's letter to me is in very respectful terms, and I wrote him a letter of thanks in return. He desired me in it to present his respects to you, and to tell you that 'your recommendation to the commissioners, which I mentioned, would, with any services you had done him, be ever remembered with gratitude. This gave me great pleasure, &c.'" The *Providence*, *Boston*, and *Ranger*, arrived safe in America, having taken two or three merchant vessels. Lieutenant Simpson was not afterwards employed in the continental service. In February following, the commissioners addressed a letter to Jones, stating, that as his separation from the *Ranger*, and the appointment of Lieutenant Simpson to the command of her would be liable to misinterpretations, they certified that his leaving her was by their consent, at the express request of M. de Sartine, who informed them that he had occasion to employ Jones in some public service; that Simpson was appointed to the command by the consent of Jones, who had

released him from the arrest he had placed him under ; that Jones' rank in the navy was not prejudiced by his leaving the *Ranger* ; and that his commission remained in full force. It seemed proper, having given the letters of Jones on this subject, to lay the whole statement before the reader, who, we fear will have found it rather tedious.

We should not have omitted to mention, that as it was one of the first, so it was one of the constant subjects of application to the commissioners by Jones, to procure from them a strong recommendation to Congress on behalf of the men who served under him in the *Ranger*, and of those in particular who landed with him at Whitehaven. On the day he left Passy, they addressed a letter to him, informing him that they had complied with his request.

While waiting for the minister to fulfil his promises, Jones asked for and obtained, but too late, orders to Count D'Orvilliers to receive him on board of the *Bretagne*. The fleet had left the harbour of Brest, while he was at L'Orient on a fruitless errand. In his letter to Franklin, dated August 24th, in which he urges this request, he says : " I wish not to be thought too impatient, but you know, my dear sir, that this is the nice moment, when I ought either to be in search of marine knowledge with Count D'Orvilliers, or in search of honour, in attempting some private enterprise. Before I was at liberty to go, the good old Count pressed me much to accompany him ; but since Doctor Bancroft has informed me, that it would be agreeable to the minister that I should go, I have been precluded from following the fleet, as the present commandant has no orders for that purpose." With this letter he forwarded one, open, to the prince of Nassau, requesting Franklin to withhold it, if he found any thing improper in its contents. We learn from Franklin's reply, that it was delivered ; but it was not answered, as the prince had changed his mind. It was as follows :

"HIS HIGHNESS THE PRINCE DE NASSAU.

"MY PRINCE—The honour which you propose to do me, by accompanying me on the ocean, fills my heart with the warmest sentiments of gratitude.

"When your intentions were communicated to me, I had under my command a ship bound in company with two fine frigates for America, where there are now two new ships of eighty guns each, and eight frigates of forty guns each, nearly ready for sea.

"On my arrival there, from the former confidence of Congress, I had assurance of an immediate removal into one of their best ships, and to have been appointed to command the first squadron which they thought fit to destine for any private expedition. Before I came to Europe, Congress honoured me with several such appointments, and I had assurance, that when admirals were appointed, my name would be remembered.

"These, my Prince, were flattering prospects to a man who drew his sword only from principles of philanthropy, and in support of the dignity of human nature; and these are the prospects I have voluntarily laid aside, that I may pursue glory in your company.

"Suffer me not, therefore, I beseech you, to continue longer in this shameful inactivity; such dishonour is worse to me than a thousand deaths. I have already lost the golden season, the summer, which, in war, is of more value than all the rest of the year. I appear here as a person cast off and useless; and when any one asks me what I purpose to do, I am unable to answer.

"Had this been my first or second disappointment, I should have said nothing concerning it. After various other objects had misgiven before I left Passy, which M. de Sartine had thought of, to keep me employed, until the scheme wherein you were concerned could take place, I was ordered down here at so short a notice, that I had not time, before my departure, to take leave of you; yet, on my arrival here, I found that what had been proposed for me, was bestowed on others. I then

offered to follow Count D'Orvilliers as a volunteer, agreeably to his kind invitation ; but M. de la Prévalaye will not permit this, it not being mentioned in his orders.

“ I have, my Prince, been unaccustomed to ask any favours, even from Congress, for I am not in pursuit of interest ; yet, let me beseech you to represent my situation to the best of kings, that I may, with you, be forthwith enabled to pursue glory, and humble the common enemy of humanity.

“ If the ship that was at first proposed, cannot with certainty be got ready for sea next month, you, my Prince, can obtain another, with the Epervier and the Alert, tenders. There is a fine frigate at L'Orient, built on the same construction with the ship at first proposed, and mounted with eighteen-pounders. This ship has been at India, is known to sail fast, and may, perhaps, be obtained, till it is seen whether the other can be got out.

“ If this ship is refused, there are many other fine frigates newly built at St. Malos, and other places, to which I hear of no commanders being appointed. I have the greatest dependence on the generous intentions of that great minister, M. de Sartine, but I cannot every day intrude on him with letters, and, in the multiplicity and importance of his affairs, my concerns may escape his memory.

“ I wish for the honour of a letter from your own hand ; though I cannot write in French, yet I understand letters which are written in that language ; and I have with me now a lieutenant that speaks it well.

“ My Prince, your's, &c.”

On the 28th, he wrote pressingly to Compte D'Orvilliers for directions to M. Prévalaye to permit his embarkation with the fleet, should a vessel be sent in with letters. “ I ardently wish,” he says, “ to attend you with my eyes, even to the pinnacle of fame ; and to learn from so great and good a general, how I may hereafter ascend the slippery precipices, beyond which the edifice is erected.”

M. Prévalaye, the commandant, who did not feel at liberty to allow the captain to go on board of the fleet, also refused to furnish any guard for the prisoners, after the armed vessels of France had left the port. After much trouble, an exchange had been agreed upon, and a cartel provided for; and in these circumstances, there was nothing to prevent the prisoners from defeating the object of the protracted negotiation, by departing of their own accord. Jones wrote in terms of authority to Mr. T. Lee, the deputy agent, and of earnest request to the Intendant of the port and the commissioners, to prevent this catastrophe. For his perseverance in procuring a guard, he received the hearty commendation of Franklin; who, in his letter of the 6th February, said, "your letter was sent to the Prince de Nassau. I am confident something will be done for you, though I do not yet know what. I sympathize with you in what I know you must suffer, from your present inactivity; but have patience." But nothing was done; and patience was not perhaps the most prominent virtue in Jones' character.

On the 31st he wrote to Franklin, desiring as the American frigates had sailed on the 22d, that his letter of the 15th demanding a court martial for Simpson, might be suppressed, if it had not been presented to the commissioners. He adds: "It is here reported that the Jamaica fleet of 70 sail, under convoy of the Portland and four frigates, passed in sight of the Brest fleet, and got clear, because Compte D'Orvilliers would not break his line to give chase. I wish to disbelieve this account; because I had written to him that such a fleet was expected." "I endeavour to console myself with the reflection, that my own situation cannot well be altered for the worse. I must acknowledge, however, that I have need of some of your philosophy."

Among the great vexations to which he was subjected at this time, were others of a petty nature, well calculated to provoke him in the isolated and expectant situation in which he seemed to find himself. Fifty casks of the prize porter, which he had orders from the commissioners to receive, were refused him by

a sub-agent, unless he would pay ready money for them; and he was invited to accompany the same agent to see the plate weighed over again. On the 13th September he determined to write to the minister, what he calls in his epistle to Franklin, an *explicit letter*. It is a summary of his past disappointments.

“HONOURED SIR,

“When his excellency Doctor Franklin informed me that you had condescended to think me worthy of your notice, I took such pleasure in reflecting on the happy alliance between France and America, that I was really flattered, and entertained the most grateful sense of the honour which you proposed for me, as well as the favour which the king proposed for America, by putting so fine a ship of war as the *Indien* under my command, and under its flag, with unlimited orders.

“In obedience to your desire, I came to Versailles, and was taught to believe that my intended ship was in deep water, and ready for the sea; but when the Prince (de Nassau) returned, I received from him a different account; I was told that the *Indien* could not be got afloat within a shorter period than three months, at the approaching equinox.

“To employ this interval usefully, I first offered to go from Brest with Count D’Orvilliers, as a volunteer, which you thought fit to reject. I had then the satisfaction to find that you approved in general of a variety of hints for private enterprises, which I had drawn up for your consideration, and I was flattered with assurances from Messieurs de Chaumont and Bandonin, that three of the finest frigates in France, with two tenders, and a number of troops, would be immediately put under my command; and that I should have unlimited orders, and be at free liberty to pursue such of my own projects as I thought proper. But this plan fell to nothing, in the moment when I was taught to think that nothing was wanting but the King’s signature.

“Another much inferior armament from L’Orient was pro-

posed to be put under my command, which was by no means equal to the services that were expected from it ; for speed and force, though both requisite, were both wanting. Happily for me this also failed, and I was thereby saved from a dreadful prospect of ruin and dishonour.

“ I had so entire a reliance that you would desire nothing of me inconsistent with my honour and rank, that the moment you required me to come down here, in order to proceed round to St. Malo, though I had received no written orders, and neither knew your intention respecting my destination or command, I obeyed with such haste, that although my curiosity led me to look at the armament at L'Orient, yet I was but three days from Passy till I reached Brest. Here too I drew a blank ; but when I saw the *Lively*, it was no disappointment, as that ship, both in sailing and equipment, is far inferior to the *Ranger*.

“ My only disappointment here was my being precluded from embarking in pursuit of marine knowledge with Count D'Orvilliers, who did not sail till seven days after my return. He is my friend, and expressed his wishes for my company ; I accompanied him out of the road when the fleet sailed ; and he always lamented that neither himself nor any person in authority in Brest, had received from you any order that mentioned my name. I am astonished, therefore, to be informed that you attribute my not being in the fleet to my stay at L'Orient.*

I am not a mere adventurer of fortune. Stimulated by principles of reason and philanthropy, I laid aside my enjoyments in private life, and embarked under the flag of America when it was first displayed. In that line my desire of fame is infinite, and I must not now so far forget my own honour, and what I owe to my friends and America, as to remain inactive.

“ My rank knows no superior in the American marine : I have long since been appointed to command an expedition with five of its ships, and I can receive orders from no junior or inferior officer whatever.

* Franklin had so informed Jones in a letter of the 6th.

"I have been here in the most tormenting suspense for more than a month since my return ; and agreeable to your desire, as mentioned to me by Monsieur Chaumont, a lieutenant has been appointed, and is with me, who speaks the French as well as the English. Circular letters have been written, and sent the 8th of last month from the English Admiralty, because they expected me to pay another visit with four ships. Therefore, I trust that, if the *Indien* is not to be got out, you will not, at the approaching season, substitute a force that is not at least equal both in strength and sailing to any of the enemy's cruising ships.

"I do not wish to interfere with the harmony of the French marine ; but if I am still thought worthy of your attention, I shall hope for a separate command, with liberal orders. If, on the contrary, you should now have no further occasion for my services, the only favour I can ask is, that you will bestow on me the *Alert*, with a few seamen, and permit me to return, and carry with me your good opinion in that small vessel, before the winter, to America.

"I am happy to hear that frigates from St. Malo have been successful near Shetland. Had Count D'Estaing arrived in the *Delaware** a few days sooner, he might have made a most glorious and easy conquest. Many other successful projects may be adopted from the hints I had the honour to draw up ; and if I can still furnish more, or execute any of those already furnished, so as to distress and humble the common enemy, it will afford me the truest satisfaction.

"I am ambitious to merit the honour of your friendship and favour ; and being fully persuaded that I now address a noble minded man, who will not be offended with the honest freedom which has always marked my correspondence, I am, &c."

In enclosing this letter to Franklin, he requests him to suppress it, if he should find it amiss, and observes that he should have made no mention of his rank, had it not been hinted to

* Note in the Margin, by Jones, "I gave the plan for that expedition."

him that it was proposed to send him from St. Malo, under the command of French lieutenants. This hint he says in a marginal note, was a mistake. He adds : " The frigates from St. Malo were sent in consequence of a hint, which I furnished. Though I am myself neglected, I hope they have been very successful. It is in vain for the minister to pretend that he has not ships to bestow. I know the contrary. He has bestowed the *Renommée* and others here since my return ; and there are yet several new ships unbestowed at St. Malo and elsewhere. I know too, that unless the States of Holland oppose it, the Indien can be got afloat with a tenth part of the difficulty that has been represented. If I was worth his notice at the beginning, I am not less so now. After all, you have desired me to have patience, and I promise you that I will wait your kind advice, and take no step without your approbation. If it were consistent and convenient for you to see M. de Sartine, I should hope that such an explanation would be the consequence, as might remove every cause of uneasiness." The letter to De Sartine was submitted, before its delivery, to the Duc de Rochefoucault.

On the 18th, he wrote to Franklin, that he had seen the Fox, a sloop of war mounting 24 guns, which had been taken by the Hancock and Adams, and that he would accept of her, attended by the Alert as a tender, if nothing better should offer. On the 21st he addressed the Duc de Chartres, expressing his warm sense of the kindness shown to him at court by that nobleman, and repeating his successive disappointments. He concluded by saying : " If the minister has no farther occasion for my services, I have then only to ask permission to have the Alert, and to carry with me to America his good opinion, before the winter. As in my present mysterious situation here, I am considered an officer in disgrace, I am persuaded I need make no further apology to a brave officer, and a noble minded prince, for the liberty I take."

He received at this period encouraging letters from his friend Dr. Bancroft, at Paris. " This very day" (September 23d,) he

said, " M. Chaumont has gone to Versailles, to press M. de Sartine to give you the Fox frigate. If this should be denied, we are all determined to let the great man know in strong terms our opinions of his faithless and dishonourable proceedings." And on the 6th of the following month, Mr. W. T. Franklin, grandson of the plenipotentiary, wrote to him thus : " I have felt for you most sincerely. M. S's conduct towards you has been as remarkable, as it has been unjust, and has altered in a great degree the good opinion many have had of him. I have been asked in several companies, '*Ou est le brave Capitaine Jones ? Que fait-il ?*' and have felt myself, as your compatriot, in a manner ill treated, when I can only answer, that you are still at Brest. On the receipt of your letter, I asked M. Chaumont, whether he thought any thing would be done for you ? He answered, that, to his certain knowledge, M. S. was ashamed of the conduct he had held towards you, and that he was now occupied to make up for it." He added in a postscript, what he had learned from M. Chaumont, that the minister had sworn by the Styx, on the day previous, 'that he would give Captain Jones a frigate, were he even to buy it ;' and enclosed a copy of a letter from Mr. Bancroft to the same effect. The latter assured Mr. Franklin, that the minister had all along had good intentions ; but had been prevented from carrying them into execution, by the jealousies and intrigues of the French naval officers. As these were naturally to be expected, and many of those gentleman were actually without commands or employment at the time, many allowances must be made for M. de Sartine ; who must have felt perplexed, if not humiliated, by the breach of so many engagements. On the 9th October, Jones wrote thus in terms of strong expostulation, to the Duc de Rouchefoucault.

" MY LORD DUKE,

" The 21st ult. I wrote a particular account of my situation here, to his Royal Highness the Duc de Chartres ; but that brave prince has, I understand, met with unmerited trouble, and

of course has not leisure to remove my suspense. The minister's behaviour towards me has been and is really astonishing. At his request (for I sought not the connexion) I gave up absolute certainties, and far more flattering prospects than any of those which he proposed. What inducement could I have for this but gratitude to France for having first recognised our independence? And having given my word to stay for some time in Europe, I have been and am unwilling to take it back, especially after having communicated the circumstances to Congress. The minister, to my infinite mortification, after possessing himself of my *schemes* and *ideas*, has treated me like a child five times successively, by leading me on from great to little, and from little to less. Does such conduct do honour either to his head or to his heart? He has not to this moment offered me the least apology for any of these five deceptions; nor has he, I believe, assigned any good reason to that venerable and great character, his Excellency Doctor Franklin, whom he has made the instrument to entrap me in this cruel state of inaction and suspense.

“The minister has lately written a letter to Count D’Orvilliers, proposing to send me home in ‘une bonne voiture.’ This is absolutely adding insult to injury, and it is the proposition of a man whose *veracity* I have not experienced in former cases.

“I could in the summer, with the *Ranger*, joined with the two other American frigates, have given the enemy sufficient foundation for their fears in Britain as well as Ireland, and could since have been assisting Count D’Estaing, or acting separately with an American squadron. Instead of this, I am chained down to shameful inactivity here, after having written to Congress to reserve no command for me in America.

“Convinced as I am, that your noble and generous breast will feel for my unmerited treatment, I must beseech you to interest yourself with the Duke de Chartres, that the king may be made acquainted with my situation. I have been taught to believe that I have been detained in France with his Majesty’s

knowledge and approbation, and I am sure he is too good a prince to detain me for my hurt or dishonour.

“ M. de Sartine may think as he pleases, but Congress will not thank him for having thus treated an officer who has always been honoured with their favour and friendship. I entertained some hopes of his honourable intentions till he gave the command of the Fox to a lieutenant, after my friends had asked for me only that ship with the Alert cutter. He was the asker *at the beginning*, and ought to be so now ; he has, to my certain knowledge, ships unbestowed, and he is bound in honour to give me the Indien, as he proposed at the first, or an equivalent command, immediately.”

On the 13th he wrote to M. Le Ray de Chaumont* as follows : “ I accept your generous encomiums with pleasure, as a proof of your good opinion and friendship, which I shall be always ambitious to merit, both in the line of my duty as an American officer, and as an individual who esteems the affection of your family, as a very singular honour. I believe your proposition respecting your ship Union to be very disinterested ; as such it claims my warmest thanks. But I am not my own master ; and as a servant of the Imperial Republic of America, honoured with the friendship and favour of Congress, I cannot, from my own authority or inclination, serve either myself or even my best friends, in any private line whatever ; unless where the honour and interest of America is the premier object.

“ Although the minister has treated me like a child five successive times, by leading me on from great to little, and from little to less, yet I had some dependance on his honourable intentions until he refused the small command which you asked for me the 23d ultimo, and afterwards bestowed the Fox *on a lieutenant* who, to my certain knowledge, does not thank him for the favour, and thinks that ship far short of his right. I say I verily believed the minister at the beginning, and after-

* This name is elsewhere copied from some letters “ Mr. Chaumont.”

wards ; but now having deceived me so often, I wish him to know that I doubt him, though he swears even ‘ *by the Styx.*’ I have written to him several respectful letters of some consequence, none of which he has condescended to answer. This is a piece of incivility and disrespect to me as a stranger, which he has not shown even to subalterns in the French marine, in whose hands I have seen his answers to letters of little importance. The secrecy which I was required to observe respecting what seemed his first intention in my favour, has been inviolable ; and I have been so delicate with respect to my situation, that I have been, and am considered every where as an officer disgraced and cast off for private reasons. I have of course been in actual disgrace here ever since my return, which is more than two months. I have already lost near five months of my time, the best season of the year, and such opportunities of serving my country, and *acquiring honour, as I cannot again expect this war*, while I have been thus shamefully entrapped in inaction. My duty and sensibility cannot brook this unworthy situation. If the minister’s intentions have been honourable from the beginning, he will make a direct written apology to me, suitable to the injury which I have sustained, otherwise, in vindication of my sacred honour, painful as it will be, I must publish in the Gazettes of Europe the conduct he has held towards me.

“ I offered some time ago to accept of the Fox with the Alert ; because both the bottoms are sheathed with copper, and because I wished to put the minister to no inconvenience, and had a project in view, which I thought I could execute with that small force. He has denied the application ; therefore, I will make no other request.

“ As he invited me to stay in Europe, by the laws of hospitality it is his duty to offer. And if he does not give me the command he at first proposed, (the Indien) he cannot in honour now offer me less than an equivalent force. I will accept of nothing that sails slow, or is of trifling force. I shall expect a yes or no to this immediately ; and it will afford me the truest

satisfaction if my honour is made whole, and the misunderstanding is happily removed. The Prince de Nassau has been uncivil, in not answering my letters. The generous part *you* have taken in my affairs, claims my most grateful thanks."

On the 12th, M. de Sartine replied to the request of the commissioners, that a ship might be furnished to transport Captain Jones to America, that the king was willing to grant such facility; but that it would be previously necessary for him to know whether it would be possible to procure an American crew; as the number and wants of the French ships would not allow any of their sailors to be detached. It would seem from this that the minister felt at the moment tired of even making promises.

At length Jones determined, as a last resort, to address the king in person. The following were the terms in which he wrote.

"Brest, October 19th, 1778.

"SIRE—After my return to Brest in the American ship of war the *Ranger*, from the Irish Channel, his excellency Dr. Franklin informed me by letter, dated June the 1st, that M. de Sartine, having a high opinion of my conduct and bravery, had determined, with your Majesty's consent and approbation, to give me the command of the ship of war the *Indien*, which was built at Amsterdam for America, but afterwards, for political reasons, made the property of France.

"I was to act with unlimited orders, under the commission and flag of America; and the Prince de Nassau proposed to accompany me on the ocean.

"I was deeply penetrated with the sense of the honour done me by this generous proposition, as well as of the favour your Majesty intended thereby to confer on America. And I accepted the offer with the greater pleasure, as the Congress had sent me to Europe in the *Ranger*, to command the *Indien* before the ownership of that vessel was changed.

The minister desired to see me at Versailles to settle future

plans of operation, and I attended him for that purpose. I was told that the *Indien* was at the *Texel*, completely armed and fitted for sea ; but the *Prince de Nassau* was sent express to *Holland*, and returned with a very different account. The ship was at *Amsterdam*, and could not be got afloat or armed before the *September equinox*. The American plenipotentiaries proposed that I should return to America ; and as I have repeatedly been appointed to the chief command of an American squadron to execute secret enterprises, it was not doubted but that Congress would again show me a preference. *M. de Sartine*, however, thought proper to prevent my departure, by writing to the plenipotentiaries, (without my knowledge,) requesting that I might be permitted to remain in Europe, and that the *Ranger* might be sent back to America under another commander, he having special services which he wished me to execute. This request they readily granted, and I was flattered by the prospect of being enabled to testify, by my services, my gratitude to your Majesty, as the first prince who has so generously acknowledged our independence.

“ There was an interval of more than three months before the *Indien* could be gotten afloat. To employ that period usefully, when your Majesty’s fleet was ordered to sail from *Brest*, I proposed to the minister to embark in it as a volunteer, in pursuit of marine knowledge. He objected to this, and at the same time approved of a variety of hints for private enterprises, which I had drawn up for his consideration. Two gentlemen were appointed to settle with me the plans that were to be adopted, who gave me the assurance that three of the best frigates in France, with two tenders, and a number of troops, should be immediately put under my command, to pursue such of my own projects as I thought proper ; but this fell to nothing, when I believed that your majesty’s signature only was wanting.

“ Another armament, composed of cutters and small vessels, at *L’Orient*, was proposed to be put under my command, to alarm the coasts of England and check the *Jersey privateers* ; but, happily for me, this also failed, and I was saved from ruin

and dishonour, as I now find that all the vessels sailed slow, and their united force is very insignificant. The minister then thought fit that I should return to Brest to command the *Lively*, and join some frigates on an expedition from St. Malo to the North Sea. I returned in haste for that purpose, and found that the *Lively* had been bestowed at Brest before the minister had mentioned that ship to me at Versailles. This was, however, another fortunate disappointment, as the *Lively* proves, both in sailing and equipment, much inferior to the *Ranger*; but, more especially, if it be true, as I have since understood, that the minister intended to give the chief command of the expedition to a lieutenant, which would have occasioned a very disagreeable misunderstanding: for, as an officer of the first rank in the American marine, who has ever been honoured with the favour and friendship of Congress, I can receive orders from no inferior officer whatever. My plan was the destruction of the English Baltic fleet, of great consequence to the enemy's marine, and then only protected by a single frigate! I would have held myself responsible for its success, had I commanded the expedition.

"M. de Sartine afterwards sent orders to Count D'Orvilliers to receive me on board the fleet, agreeably to my former proposal; but the order did not arrive until after the departure of the fleet the last time from Brest, nor was I made acquainted with the circumstance before the fleet returned here.

"Thus have I been chained down to shameful inactivity for nearly five months. I have lost the best season of the year, and such opportunities of serving my country and acquiring honour, as I cannot again expect this war; and, to my infinite mortification, having no command, I am considered every where an officer cast off and in disgrace for secret reasons.

"I have written respectful letters to the minister, none of which he has condescended to answer; I have written to the Prince de Nassau with as little effect; and I do not understand that any apology has been made to the great and venerable Dr. Franklin, whom the minister has made the instrument of bringing me into such unmerited trouble.

" Having written to Congress to reserve no command for me in America, my sensibility is the more affected by this unworthy situation in the sight of your majesty's fleet. I, however, make no remark on the treatment I have received.

" Although I wish not to become my own panegyrist, I must beg your majesty's permission to observe, that I am not an adventurer in search of fortune, of which, thank God, I have a sufficiency.

" When the American banner was first displayed, I drew my sword in support of the violated dignity and rights of human nature; and both honour and duty prompt me steadfastly to continue the righteous pursuit, and to sacrifice to it, not only my private enjoyments, but even life, if necessary. I must acknowledge that the generous praise which I have received from Congress and others exceeds the merit of my past services; therefore I the more ardently wish for future opportunities of testifying my gratitude by my activity.

" As your majesty, by espousing the cause of America, hath become the protector of the rights of human nature, I am persuaded that you will not disregard my situation, nor suffer me to remain any longer in this insupportable disgrace.

" I am, with perfect gratitude and profound respect, Sire, your majesty's very obliged, very obedient, and very humble servant,

" J. PAUL JONES."

In a letter of the same date, Jones solicited the Duchess of Chartres to present the foregoing representation to his majesty. He also wrote to Franklin, enclosing it for his inspection, a wise precaution which he adopted in all cases of a similar nature. One of the principal sources of his vexation was the supposition which he believed to be current, that he had incurred the displeasure of his venerated "guide, philosopher, and friend," now the minister plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles. This rumour he often mentions as the climax of his embarrassments. There is no reason to suppose that the letter to the king was

ever delivered. Mr. William Franklin, in the postscript to a letter of the 22d October, said : " I would willingly do every thing you desire of me ; but it is my grandfather's opinion, that there will be no occasion to send those letters ; and I imagine they were written before you heard of the minister's final determination. If, however, you still think they ought to be sent, you have only to order it." The letters referred to, were those to the king and the Dutchess of Chartres ; and this new " final determination" of the minister, thus communicated, was of a nature to render their delivery unnecessary. In the letter of which the postscript has been cited, Mr. Franklin informed Jones, that his appeal to Mr. Chaumont had had a good effect ; and that the latter was charged to put the minister's design in immediate execution. This was, as we gather from the subsequent correspondence, to purchase the best ship that could be procured for Jones, and get it in immediate readiness for sailing.

The name of M. Le Ray de Chaumont has been already several times mentioned, and as it will frequently occur again, coupled with commentaries, which misapprehension and haste prematurely elicited from Jones, it may not be amiss here to anticipate several remarks, which would otherwise be more frequently necessary. It is not expedient, and indeed it would be improper, in a mere compilation of this nature, to draw inferences affecting the character of persons who are dead. Palpably false impressions, however, as to prominent individuals, should not be suffered to obtain circulation, without being rectified.

M. Le Ray de Chaumont had held two of the most honourable employments under the French monarchy,* previous to the declaration of American independence. On relinquishing them, he was authorized to retain the honorary titles, with a handsome pension during life. A more important employment was at the same time offered him by the government, which would have

* Grand maître des Eaux et Forêts de France, and Intendant des Invalides.

connected him with the party in the king's council, opposed to rendering assistance to the Americans, in their struggle for independence. He was warmly (and from the nature of his situation, must have been disinterestedly) attached to the cause of liberty and of America. This he wisely saw he could best serve in a private capacity, as France was not yet prepared to take an open and decided part in the controversy. His large fortune, extensive credit, and his connexions and influence with those of the ministers who were inclined to lend aid to the colonies, enabled him to render peculiar and efficient assistance to the commissioners, and American agents in France. When no visible means of repayment were presented, he furnished a large quantity of powder and military stores in 1776, for the use of America, asking for reimbursement when the United States should be recognized as a free empire, and not before. While the commissioners were in the equivocal situation, in which they were permitted to correspond with the government without being officially recognized, he abandoned to their use, or rather courteously prevailed upon them to occupy his splendidly furnished houses. In the autumn of 1778, Mr. John Adams felt that the acceptance of such civilities might give cause for censure on his government, if they were gratuitously accepted; and from his government if they were paid for, even on the most vulgar and economical principles of calculation. M. Le Ray, however, rejected the idea of compensation; and his wealth at the time placed his motives, as well as his wisdom, beyond suspicion. He was able to afford it; and did not feel it as a sacrifice. The secret treaty did not place the commissioners in a better attitude for asking open favours; and even after the treaties of alliance had been interchanged, Franklin been subsequently recognised as minister plenipotentiary, and war openly declared between France and England, the particular enterprises which Jones most coveted, and which he was most competent to execute, were different in their character from those which France contemplated. He sought to retaliate for measures of oppression and cruelty, for villages burnt, and prisoners languishing in dun-

geons, which civilized tactics had not allowed England to practise upon the new ally of the United States. While France, therefore, was to furnish the means, America was to furnish the flag. In such a juncture, a citizen holding no official station, of great wealth and influence, and enjoying the confidence of both the American and French governments, was precisely wanted both as mediator and director, to make arrangements for such desultory expeditions as might be projected, until the ships had left the ports of France, under the stars and stripes, with Retribution for their motto. In concert with his illustrious friend M. de la Fayette, M. Chaumont undertook this nice business; and the testimony of those to whose memory this republic now pays universal and unqualified honour, is that he was faithful to the last in performing what he had voluntarily and gratuitously undertaken.*

Such was the friend whose active intercession obtained this "final" promise from the minister; which, like the others, was

* See Appendix, No. VII. where several documents are cited. In the correspondence of Silas Deane, (*Diplomatic Correspondence*, I. 146,) the following pithy paragraph occurs, in relation to M. Chaumont and Mr. Arthur Lee. The latter gentleman gave great annoyance to Jones; and, whatever his motives may have been, the captain does not seem to need an apology for expressing his sense of it, as he does in several of the passages which will be subsequently introduced.

"It is not enough to say, that no man in France enjoys a better character for strict honour and probity, both at court, and in the city, than Mons. Chaumont. Justice must add, there is no man enjoys it perhaps so universally through the kingdom, among the merchants, the farmers or husbandmen, and mechanics, in all which branches of business, he is constantly speculating. This man is the friend of Dr. Franklin. I have the pleasure of knowing him to be mine, and what is more, the friend of my country, on all and in the most trying occasions. I do not wonder that Mr. Lee should appear jealous of this gentleman, as well as of every body else, a select few excepted; and very few, indeed, are those who escape his jealous suspicions, either in Europe or America. It is a melancholy truth, but justice to the public requires my declaring it, that I never knew Mr. Lee, from his first coming to Paris, satisfied with any one person he did business with, whether of a public or a private nature; and his dealings, whether for trifles or for things of importance, almost constantly ended in a dispute, sometimes in litigious quarrels. Mr. Lee lived some time in M. Chaumont's house. M. Chaumont knew him perfectly well, and was not reserved in speaking his opinion of him."

never performed, but which led eventually to Jones' obtaining command of a ship, such as it was, in which he fought one of the most desperate naval battles on record. In a letter of his which we have already quoted from, he expresses his gratitude for the hospitality and services of M. Le Ray; and the same tone pervades his correspondence, until the unfortunate misunderstanding which led him to use harsher language than his cooler judgment approved; and for which, it may be added to his great credit, he afterwards frankly made the *amende honorable*.

The necessity of condensation compels the omission of several letters written at this period; as they are not indispensable. Long months were yet to elapse, before Jones found himself actually at sea, with an "independent command." He still urged the reservation of the *Indien* for himself; which ship, he had been assured by "an American gentleman of sense, might at any spring tide be got to the Texel, with the assistance of a camel, and there armed in a fortnight, without any opposition from the states." In pursuance of M. Chaumont's request, he was, however, earnestly engaged in making inquiries for a suitable and fast sailing ship. He intimated to that gentleman, that he had not only the pride of the French marine to conciliate, but that he "had excited the jealousy of many officers in our own young navy, because he had pursued honour, while they had sought after profit." Some expressions of his in this communication, it may be pertinent to record. He says: "Your letter has given me great pleasure, the more so as it leads me to connect myself more immediately with yourself." "Not to love yourself, and those persons whose names you have mentioned in the latter part of your letter, would be base; and my heart tells me that I shall never be capable of such ingratitude." He wrote in the middle of November, to Mr. Robert Morris, informing him of his situation, and assigning probably the true reasons for the procrastination of the minister; that the rules of the French service did not admit of giving him the command of ships detached from the royal marine; and that the French

officers, as he expresses it with somewhat of morbid bitterness of feeling, "could not look at him in Brest, but with rival eyes. The minister cannot and dares not do what he wishes." Being "an eyesore to the marine," as he phrases it in a letter to W. Franklin, he was desirous of leaving Brest. He examined, and unqualifiedly rejected an armed prize ship called the *Nep-tune*, represented as a fine frigate of 32 guns. "I wish," he wrote to M. Chaumont, to have no connexion with any ship that does not sail fast ; for I intend to go *in harm's way*. You know, I believe, that this is not every one's intention. Therefore, buy a frigate that sails fast, and that is sufficiently large to carry 26 or 28 guns, (not less than twelve-pounders,) on one deck. I would rather be shot ashore, than sent to sea in such things as the armed prizes I have described." In the same letter, he suggested that Americans might be found among the English prisoners, who would serve under him if assured as to the time and manner of receiving their wages, and share of prize money ; and expressed his wish that neither the admiralty nor the existing American agents might have any thing to do with the prizes. He adds : "I have almost half killed myself with grief. Give me but an assurance that the command of the *Indien* will be reserved for me, and bestowed on no other person, on any pretence whatsoever, and I will say I am satisfied. This, I pledge myself, will be no loss to France. America is not ungrateful. The noble minded Congress know not the little mean distinctions of climate or place of nativity ; nor have they adopted any rule, which can preclude them from encouraging or rewarding the merit of a stranger, by raising him even to the first posts of honour. In the army, there are many instances of this. In the navy, young as it is, it gives me particular pleasure to inform you, that Congress have given the command of the best ship in their service to a French officer, and called the ship the *Alliance*." At this time, M. Chaumont intimated to him, that the *Duras*, an old Indiaman, that had made three voyages, was for sale ; and he expressed his willingness to accept that ship, with a good tender, provided she sailed fast.

Mr. Arthur Lee at this period regaled him with an inquiry about one of the Ranger's old prizes, of little value, which had been sold a year before at Nantes, and the captors' moiety paid according to Mr. Lee's own directions. The answer of Jones was respectful and caustic. He took occasion to remind the commissioner of his having concurred in the dishonour of his draft, without communicating the knowledge in his possession to his colleagues, which led to his own seeming disgrace, and to the misery of his crew. "These poor men," he says, "were at last dragged away" (into the Ranger, when she left France under Simpson,) "without clothing; having only received at Brest 8 or 9 crowns each, as prize money, at the moment of their departure; and not being allowed to lay out even that trifle. Those who saw them last reported that they kept below, refusing duty, and imprecating general curses on the public service, the public agents, and all concerned." This statement is collaterally confirmed. It is to be observed, that Mr. A. Lee is no where charged with cupidity; but with painful uneasiness and useless officiousness, in the course of his dealings in relation to the matter of the prizes.

At this time, also, several offers were made to Jones to take command of privateering expeditions. Among others, M. Montieu of Nantes, who had purchased a new ship on which Jones had had his eye, offered him the command of an armament for such purposes. In replying through his friend Mr. Williams, Jones says: "Were I in *pursuit of profit*, I should accept the offer without hesitation. But I am under such obligations to Congress, that I cannot think myself my own master; and as servant of the imperial republic of America, honoured with the public approbation of my past services, I cannot, from my own authority or inclination, serve either myself or even my best friends in any private line whatsoever, unless where the honour and interest of America is the premier object."* On the

* This sentence which Mr. Williams was to communicate to Mr. Montieu, is evidently elaborated, and is identical with one written to M. Chaumont five weeks before, previously cited.

30th November, he wrote to M. Chaumont, that by waiting until that time for orders or powers, he had lost the opportunity of purchasing a suitable ship, and was in great danger of losing a number of American seamen; and that he was about to proceed to L'Orient on his own responsibility, unless otherwise directed by the next post. "If we can do no better, I hope the Duras will answer." "I repeat to you, that if the Alert were now at my disposal, I could engage a number of American seamen, from a privateer that still remains here." "My best respects and most grateful thanks await the minister, for the very honourable things which he said of me to the Duc de la Rochefoucault. It shall be my ambition, when he gives me opportunities, to merit his favour and affection."

From L'Orient he wrote to the commissioners on December 9th, enclosing the memorial of the prisoners confined there on board the *Patience*. They were originally two hundred in number, but one hundred and thirty-one alone remained, and it was to be inferred that the others had been suffered to escape. Their condition was a melancholy one. The remarks Jones made on Riou, who was entrusted with their custody, have been previously quoted. The prisoners had full confidence in Father John, the chaplain of the Duc D'Orvilliers, and begged for an answer through him. The memorial, signed by the officers of the *Drake*, represented, no doubt too truly, the miseries they had endured in their close confinement, at a distance from the shore, for seven months. In January following, M. Sartine granted an order for the release of such Americans as would enrol under Jones.

For nearly two months, a singular gap in his indefatigable correspondence, we find no letters to or from Jones preserved among the originals or copies of his papers. His Journal for the king supplies the vacuum. "None of the ships at L'Orient appeared very suitable for the purpose, except one, the 'Marshal de Broglie,' a fine ship, bought soon afterwards by the king, and fitted for war with 64 guns. As nothing was done, Captain Jones determined to go himself to court, to know

why he was detained idle in Europe. The minister pressed him to accept the command of the *Marshal de Broglio* ; but Captain Jones was obliged to decline it, as he saw no means to procure a crew of Americans sufficient for that ship. The king then bought the *Duc de Duras*, a much smaller ship, of fourteen years old. This ship was given to Captain Jones ; and at his request called *Le Bon Homme Richard*, in compliment to a saying of Poor Richard ; “ If you would have your business done, come yourself ; if not, send.” The official intimation of this appointment was not given by M. de Sartine until the 4th February, who informed Jones that he was about to give orders for completely fitting and victualling the *Duras* ; that Jones was to hoist the flag of the United States, under the commission he had received from Congress when he left America, and to use his powers to form a ship’s company of American volunteers. But he also informed him, that it was the king’s pleasure that he should raise volunteers to make up the necessary number of his crew. As to his operations at sea, the minister in fact gave him *carte blanche*, asking only for an account of his proceedings, whenever he should enter a port within the king’s dominions. He assented to the ship’s changing her name, in compliance with the request of Jones. The letter was delivered to the latter by M. Garnier, who had recently been named ambassador to the United States, and assisted Jones efficiently with his counsel and good offices. Jones made his acknowledgments warmly, and in his best style, for the first *actual* favour he had received ; and a prospect of action opened before him, which at first expanded into one of consequence and dignity. It dwindled, however, again upon this view ; the result was destined to be achieved by his own energy ; and the glory that accompanied it was left to him without a co-rival.

“ M. Garnier was appointed by the court to arrange a plan for the armament. Four or five sail was to be added to the *Bon Homme Richard*, two of them to be fire-ships. Five hundred chosen troops were to embark, from one of the Irish regiments, under the command of the Chevalier de Fitz

Maurice, who was to be entirely under the command of Captain Jones. A plan was laid between M. Garnier and Captain Jones which promised perfect success; and had it succeeded, would have astonished the world.”*

Jones proceeded forthwith to Nantes to engage seamen, several of whom he enlisted at that place; the Americans, as he says, being generally pleased with the character of the “poor Richard.” The ship was calculated to mount only one battery of eighteen pounders, and he found some difficulty in procuring suitable ordnance to be cast. Writing to Mr. Garnier from Nantes, he urged, that as the new American frigate, the *Alliance*, which had been put under the command of a French officer, was then at Brest, it would be a useful addition to the force which was to sail under him. Understanding that La Fayette had brought out the credentials of Franklin as ambassador, and that the *Alliance* would in consequence be under his control, he suggested that an application should be made to this effect. He little anticipated how much trouble such a request was to entail upon him, which was more readily granted than any he had previously made.

From Nantes he went to L’Orient, whence he wrote that finding the necessary cannon could be made at Bordeaux, he should repair there immediately; that he had procured several seamen at Brest and Nantes, and many valuable men for officers; that volunteer soldiers enlisted with him daily, to serve during the war, and that he had accepted the offer of a captain in the American army to command them. After passing several times between Bordeaux and Angouleme, before the contract for casting the cannon was completed, he received on his return to L’Orient, an express summoning him to court. The Marquis de la Fayette had expressed a wish to join with him in an expedition, and command a body of select troops assigned to him by the king for that purpose. Franklin, at the

* Journal for the king. The plan was to attack Liverpool.

request of the French government, made the Alliance a part of the force, which now began to assume the appearance of an armament with which much might be effected. It was to consist of the *Bon Homme Richard*, the *Alliance*, *Pallas*, *Vengeance* brig, and *Cerf*, a remarkably fine cutter.

On his return to L'Orient, he found that two-thirds of the men sent as American volunteers from Nantes, were, as he describes them, "unfit to bear arms," a "set of dirty beings," who were to be sent to their homes at an additional expense. The rest were English prisoners, whose names he had blotted out of the list previously, because, during his absence at Bordeaux, they had enlisted to serve in a privateer. He rated very soundly the officer, (Mr. Thompson,) under whose auspices these apologies for soldiers were forwarded for his use.

On the 27th April, Franklin addressed to him the following letter, under the impression that La Fayette would co-operate with him. It would be improper to omit it here, though it is found in other collections. Jones duly appreciated the sound sense of its precepts. With La Fayette, as with Franklin, he never would have openly differed. This may be safely affirmed, though he never was put to the test.

"I have at the request of M. de Sartine, postponed the sending of the *Alliance* to America, and have ordered her to proceed immediately from Nantes to L'Orient, where she is to be furnished with her complement of men, join your little squadron, and act under your command.

"The Marquis de la Fayette will be with you soon. It has been observed, that joint expeditions of land and sea forces, often miscarry through jealousies and misunderstandings between the officers of the different corps. This must happen where there are little minds, actuated more by personal views of profit or honour to themselves, than by the warm and sincere desire of good to their country. Knowing you both, as I do, and your just manner of thinking on these occasions, I am confident nothing of the kind can happen between you, and that it is unnecessary for me to recommend to either of you, that con-

descension, mutual good will, and harmony, which contribute so much to success in such undertakings. I look upon this expedition as an introduction only to greater trusts and more extensive commands, and as a kind of trial of both your abilities, and of your fitness in temper and disposition for acting in concert with others. I flatter myself, therefore, that nothing will happen that may give impressions to the disadvantage of either of you, when greater affairs shall come under consideration.

“As this is understood to be an American expedition, under the Congress commission and colours, the Marquis, who is a Major General in that service, has of course the step-in point of rank, and he must have the command of the land forces, which are committed by the king to his care ; but the command of the ships will be entirely in you, in which I am persuaded that whatever authority his rank might in strictness give him, he will not have the least desire to interfere with you. There is honour enough to be got for both of you, if the expedition is conducted with a prudent unanimity. The circumstance is indeed a little unusual ; for there is not only a junction of land and sea forces, but there is also a junction of Frenchmen and Americans, which increases the difficulty of maintaining a good understanding ; a cool, prudent conduct in the chiefs is therefore the more necessary, and I trust neither of you will in that respect be deficient. With my best wishes for your success, health, and honour, I remain, dear Sir, your affectionate and most obedient servant.”

Accompanying this letter were the following instructions, the benevolent cautions contained in which, Franklin was subsequently almost tempted to consider as savouring of too much moderation, when he heard of the burnings of Fairfield, and other towns in America.

“1. His majesty, having been pleased to grant some troops for a particular expedition, proposed to annoy our common enemy, in which the sea force under your command might have an opportunity of distinguishing itself, you are to receive on

board your ships of war, and the other vessels destined for that purpose, the troops that shall present themselves to you, afford them such accommodations as shall be most proper for preserving their health, and convey them to such port or place as their commander shall desire to land them at.

“ 2. When the troops are landed, you are to aid by all means in your power, their operations, as they will be instructed in like manner, to aid and support those you may make with your ships, that so by this concurrence and union of your different forces, all that such a compounded strength is capable of, may be effected.

“ 3. You are, during the expedition, never to depart from the troops, so as not to be able to protect them, or to secure their retreat in case of a repulse ; and in all events you are to endeavour their complete re-embarkation on board the ships and transports under your command when the expedition shall be ended.

“ 4. You are to bring to France all the English seamen you may happen to take prisoners, in order to complete the good work you already have made such progress in, of delivering by an exchange the rest of our countrymen now languishing in the jails of Great Britain.

“ 5. As many of your officers and people have lately escaped from English prisons, either in Europe or America, you are to be particularly attentive to their conduct towards the prisoners which the fortune of war may throw into your hands, lest the resentment of the more than barbarous usage by the English in many places towards the Americans, should occasion a retaliation and imitation of what ought rather to be detested and avoided, for the sake of humanity, and for the honour of our country.

“ 6. In the same view, although the English have wantonly burnt many defenceless towns in America, you are not to follow this example, unless when a reasonable ransom is refused, in which case, your own generous feelings as well as this instruction, will induce you to give timely notice of your intention, that

sick and ancient persons, women, and children, may be first removed."

On the same day with Franklin, La Fayette wrote to Jones, approving of his measures, and regretting that he heard the cannon were promised to other people. He said that he wished the expedition to be soon over, as his return in the middle of summer would be useful to the common cause; and he hoped every thing would be in readiness by the 7th of May. He did not wish, if it could be avoided, to put land troops on board of the Alliance, because disputes would occur between their officers and Captain Landais. As he was willing to distribute them in the other ships, it is plain that La Fayette, who was as discerning as he was chivalric, had some conception of the character of the captain of the Alliance; a character, which in any attempt that may be made to throw light upon it by facts, will for ever amuse and perplex the thinking reader; unless he comes soon to the conclusion, that Landais was not altogether sane in mind. But this solution is too devoid of ingenuity, to satisfy those who make the motives of eccentric individuals a study.

In reply to Franklin, Jones said: "The letter I had the honour to receive from you to-day, together with your liberal and noble minded instructions, would make a *coward brave*. You have called up every sentiment of public virtue in my breast, and it shall be my pride and ambition, in the strict pursuit of your instructions, to deserve success.

"Be assured, that very few prospects could afford me so true a satisfaction as that of rendering some acceptable service to the common cause, and at the same time relieving from captivity (by furnishing the means of exchange) our unfortunate fellow subjects from the hands of the enemy."

And to La Fayette he wrote as follows: "So flattering and affectionate a proof of your esteem and friendship, has made an impression on my mind that will attend me while I live. This I hope to prove by more than words. Where men of fine feelings are concerned, there is seldom misunderstanding; and I am sure I should do violence to my sensibility if I were capable

of giving you a moment's pain by any part of my conduct. Therefore, without any apology, I shall expect you to point out my errors, when we are together alone, with perfect freedom, and I think I dare promise you your reproof shall not be lost.

"I have received from the good Dr. Franklin instructions at large, which do honour to his liberal mind, and which it will give me the truest satisfaction to execute. I cannot ensure success, but will endeavour to deserve it."

On the 30th April, he informed M. Chaumont, that if a battery of 28 good twelve pounders, with others of less calibre could be procured, he was willing to put to sea; that he had on his muster roll 329 officers, seamen, and volunteer soldiers, and would not lie idle for want of men. He expressed his deep regret at the political disappointments his friend M. Garnier had met with.

The proposed co-operation of La Fayette with Jones, was soon abandoned for reasons which the general history of the times easily furnishes. Spain was preparing to act with France against England, and her hostile manifesto was delivered by her ambassador a few weeks subsequently. In the attitude in which Great Britain then stood, it was by no means chimerical to anticipate important results from the combined operations of the two fleets. A general invasion was projected; forces were ordered to be raised in the northern provinces of France, and marched to the coast, and general officers were named to conduct the grand enterprise. On the 22d May, La Fayette wrote to inform Jones of the change in the purposes of the ministry. He simply stated that political and military reasons had occasioned it, and added, "I am only to tell you, my good friend, how sorry I feel not to be a witness of your success, abilities, and glory." "What will be further determined about your squadron is yet uncertain, and the ministers are to consult with Dr. Franklin." In Franklin's letter to the committee of foreign affairs, written about the same time, he merely mentions that the marquis was not to go with Jones, "the plan having been a little changed." In a subsequent confidential letter, he speaks

of the new project, as "the grand invasion." It will be seen, that Jones wrote under a partial, if not total misunderstanding of the causes, which led to a modification of the plan first proposed, in part of the following extract of his Journal for the king, though it was composed many years afterwards.

"A person [M. Le Ray de Chaumont*] was appointed *commissary* of the expense of the squadron, and unwisely entrusted with the secret of the expedition. The cannon had not arrived for the *Bon Homme Richard*, and she was in great haste mounted with a battery of indifferent twelve pounders. Six old fashioned long eighteen pounders were mounted in the gun-room; and ports were cut to fight them six on one side. Thus, with the guns on the quarter-deck and forecastle, the *Bon Homme Richard* mounted forty guns; and with the *Alliance* of thirty-six, the *Pallas* of thirty-two, the *Cerf* of eighteen, and the *Vengeance* of twelve, composed the little squadron. A crew was hastily procured for the *Bon Homme Richard*, from among the English prisoners, and by enlisting raw French peasants as volunteers. Captain Jones had not more than thirty Americans among the crew. In the *Alliance*, there had been a mutiny on the passage from America,† and the captain and officers were ready to cut

* Interlined in his own hand writing.

† By a resolution of Congress of May 29th, 1778, the new continental frigate, built at Salisbury, Mass. and then recently launched, was called the *Alliance*. It appears by a report of the Marine Committee, on the 29th April previous, that they considered Captain Landais, who was afterwards appointed her commander, "an experienced sea officer, and skilled in the construction of ships of war." The nature of the difficulties which took place on board the *Alliance*, referred to in the text, is not particularly explained. It may have arisen from the national or personal character of the captain, or from quarrels as to rank. Mr. Adams was to have returned in this vessel to America; and was on board of her when Jones wrote to him begging an explanation, if he could give one, of the misunderstanding which prevailed, and asking where the fault lay. The Minister of Marine offered Mr. Adams a passage home, in the frigate with the new ambassador to the United States. Franklin wrote to Jones, "I am sorry for, and ashamed of the divisions on board the *Alliance*. I hope these commissions will enable you to compose them." The want of harmony on board of this ship, may have had some effect upon its strange movements, while nominally attached to Jones' squadron

one another's throats. The first and second lieutenants deserted. The *Pallas*, a merchant ship, had been built for the king, and hastily fitted at Nantes. The *Vengeance* was bought by the commissary, and fitted in the same manner. The *Cerf*, a fine cutter, was alone well fitted and manned. The commissary took upon himself the whole direction at L'Orient, and went far beyond the powers of a commissary; but the secret was too big for him to keep. All Paris rang with the expedition from L'Orient; and government was obliged to drop the plan, when the squadron lay ready for sea, and the troops ready to embark."

The term commissary, as here employed, was technically inapplicable, whether in French or English, to the gentleman in question; and is calculated to convey an erroneous impression. M. Chaumont was the confidential agent of both governments. His trust had in it nothing in common with that of a contractor, and his functions were in some measure diplomatic, as well as ministerial. He acted directly for M. de Sartine, to whom, as France furnished all the expense of the armament, he was alone responsible. Jones, therefore, used the word commissary inadvertently; and having used it, his associations with the duties of such an officer, (he detested the whole genus,) led him into involuntary crimination of one of his best friends. When recruits and volunteers were brought from the adjacent seaports and the interior to L'Orient, Jones was inquiring every where for ships and cannon, and M. Chaumont was purchasing stores and vessels for the armament, preparations which occupied months. It would seem to have been unnecessary for the latter gentleman to have broken confidence, in order to put the by-standers in possession of a fact, of which they were already aware; that the ships and warlike stores thus collected were to be used at sea. And there is little reason to doubt, that the destination of the armament was a subject of free conversation and speculation. As we shall quote Jones' language literally, this explanation is due in this place.

On the 10th and 14th June, M. Chaumont sent to Jones his official hints and suggestions, as to the government of the fleet,

and the disposition of the prizes. He observed, that as the situation of the officers, who had accepted commissions from Congress to join the armament of the *Bon Richard*, might be in contradiction with the interest of their own ships, he was induced to request Jones to enter into an engagement with him, not to require from those vessels any services, not conformable to the orders such officers might have ; and not to make any change in the formation of their crews. He also requested that all prizes might be addressed to such consignees as he should point out, for the preservation of the interests of all concerned.

By the orders of the minister, Jones was at this time employed in giving convoy to a fleet bound for Bordeaux, and other ports in the bay of Biscay, containing troops, stores, and other merchandise. He was also directed on his return, to drive the enemy's cruisers out of the bay. This service, he says in his *Journal*, he performed. On the night of June 20th, while the fleet lay to off Rochefort, "the *Bon Homme Richard* and *Alliance* got foul of each other ; which carried away the *B. H. R.*'s head and bowsprit, and the *Alliance*'s mizen-mast." This accident was allowed on all hands to have been owing to the clumsy management of the *Alliance*, but it was further supposed that the collision was not altogether unintentional on the part of *Landais*. Among the articles subsequently attested by the officers of the squadron, the first was, "that the captain of the *Alliance* did not take the steps in his power to prevent his ship from getting foul of the *Bon Homme Richard*, in the bay of Biscay ; for, instead of putting his helm a-weather, and bearing up to make way for his commanding officer, (which was his duty,) he left the deck to load his pistols." The offence, however, was visited upon the lieutenant of the *Bon Homme Richard*, who had the watch, and was broken by a court martial held shortly afterwards. Jones observes, that there were faults on both sides.

On the 21st June, Jones sent the *Cerf* to reconnoitre two sail. She fell in with a sloop of 14 guns ; and after a warm engage-

ment was obliged to abandon her prize, on the approach of a superior force, and went to L'Orient to refit. The next day three ships of war were discerned to windward. They bore down in order ; but finding the squadron prepared to receive them, escaped by superior sailing. A few days after, the Alliance and Pallas separated from the two other ships in a fog. On coming in sight of the road of Groix, the wind being contrary, Jones gave the Vengeance leave to make the best of her way in, and found himself, at the approach of night, near two large frigates. He steered for them for half an hour, to prepare for action, and then tacked to engage. When they saw this, the pursuers ran away ; and, as Jones says, " to his great mortification outsailed the Bon Homme Richard, and got clear."*

Unapprised of the necessary delay which the repairs of the squadron would create, Franklin addressed to Jones, the same day on which he arrived at the Isle de Groix, the following instructions.

" Being arrived at Groix, you are to make the best of your way with the vessels under your command to the West of Ireland, and establish your cruise on the Orcades, the Cape of Derneus, and the Dogger Bank, in order to take the enemy's property in those seas.

" The prizes you may make, send to Dunkirk, Ostend, or Bergen, in Norway, according to your proximity to either of those ports. Address them to the persons M. de Chaumont shall indicate to you.

" About the 15th of August, when you will have sufficiently

* The log book of the Bon Homme Richard has the following entry on the 30th June. " At half past 7, P. M. saw two sail bearing down upon us, one with a flag at each mast-head. Hove about and stood from them to get in readiness for action ; then hove mizen-topsail to the mast, down all stay-sails and up mizen-sail. Then they hove about and stood from us. Immediately we tacked ship and stood after them.

" After which they wore ship and stood for us. Captain Jones, *gentleman-like*, called all his officers, and consulted them whether they were willing to see them. They all said, Yes. Made sail after them ; but they, being better sailors than we, got from us. At 1, A. M. tacked ship."

cruised in these seas, you are to make route for the Texel, where you will meet my further orders.

“If by any personal accident you should be rendered unable to execute these instructions, the officer of your squadron next in rank is to endeavour to put them in execution.”

In the letter from Jones, giving an account of his proceedings, which crossed these instructions on the road, he said : “ I have traversed the Golf de Gascogne, over and over, both within and without soundings, from half a degree to the southward of the Island of Bordeaux, to the Ras passage, in sight of Brest. I have fallen in with and chased various other ships and vessels, which I believe were enemies, but all such as I have been able to overtake, proved either Dutch, Spanish, or other neutral property.” “ If the court is yet disposed to give me the *ship*, which they at *first* offered, I think it possible in the present situation of my affairs to make a useful and honourable cruise that way, with the force now under my command, and afterwards to bring that ship out with the crew I now have.” Jones was “ still harping on my daughter.” Though he expressed himself much satisfied with the martial spirit shown by his crew in this affair with the frigates, and was confident, “ that if he had been able to get between them, according to his intention, he would have beaten them both together,” still he found the old Indiaman a dull sailor, and provided with unsuitable ordnance. Franklin stated in reply : “ I have no other orders to give ; for, as the court is at the chief expense, I think they have the best right to direct. I observe what you write about a change of the destination ; but when a thing has been once considered and determined on in council, they do not care to resume the consideration of it, having much business on hand, and there is not now time to obtain a reconsideration.” He threw out, however, the consoling intimation, that it had been hinted to him, that “ the intention of ordering the cruise to finish at the Texel, was with a view of getting out the Indien ; but this should be kept a secret.” He confirmed absolutely the instructions of M. Chaumont ; and added the following significant postscript :

"If it should fall in your way, remember that the Hudson's Bay ships are very valuable."

On the 2d of July, the Alliance and Pallas arrived with an Irish brig laden with wine, &c. which they had captured, and the squadron went to L'Orient for repairs. The Pallas, Cerf, and Vengeance were ordered on a short cruise, from which they returned without effecting any thing of consequence. Meantime Jones renewed his complaints against the communicative disposition of M. De Chaumont. The course we have adopted requires the insertion of the letter.

"He has written to an officer under my command a whole sheet on the subject of your letter, and has even introduced more than perhaps was necessary to a person commanding in chief. I have also strong reasons to think that this officer is not the only improper person here to whom he has written to the same effect. This is surely a strange infatuation, and it is much to be lamented that one of the best hearts in the world should be connected with a mistaken head, whose errors can afford him neither pleasure nor profit, but may effect the ruin and dishonour of a man whom he esteems and loves. Believe me, my worthy sir, I dread the thoughts of seeing this subject too soon in print, as I have done several others of greater importance, with which he was acquainted, and which I am certain he communicated too early to improper persons, whereby very important services have been impeded and set aside."

In a marginal note, in the hand writing of Jones, he says: "I found it in print before I reached Holland." At the present day, it would have been in type in a week.

The Bon Homme Richard, on inspection, at L'Orient, was found too old for necessary alterations, and fit only for extemporary service. The bowsprit was found to be sprung, which required attention. The Alliance was also hove down and careened. "Notwithstanding," Jones wrote to Franklin, "the little squadron will not be detained, so as to interfere with the execution of your orders. When we meet with the enemy's property of no great value, or that cannot be conveniently sent into ports,

would it not be proper to 'sink, burn, or otherwise destroy' such property? I have had such charge in my instructions from Congress; and it is, therefore, that I mention it now. I would also beg leave to ask, whether I may or may not attempt to avail myself of every opportunity that may seem to present itself to *distress* the enemy." In a marginal note, he says, "I have ever made this my study."

On the 14th of this month, he wrote to M. Chaumont on matters purely of a business nature, but in a most cordial and affectionate strain; proceeding with policy as he deemed, no doubt, upon his hypothesis, that the heart of that gentleman was good, though his mind was not strong. He concluded by saying: "I thank you, not as a matter of form, but as a man who really esteems himself honoured by your friendship, for the constant attention which you show to my honour, and to the American interest. I faithfully assure you, that nothing could make me so happy as to testify my regard for you, by rendering some real honour to the American flag, and some real service to the best of kings. Thus much you may safely venture to say, when alone with the minister at Versailles."

In pursuance of the desire of M. de Sartine, M. Chamillard de Varville was admitted to the command *en second* of the *Bon Homme Richard*. On the 19th, Franklin lengthened the cruise, at De Sartine's request, to the end of September, to give a longer time for finishing it at the Orcades. On the 26th, Jones wrote Franklin, that he had advices that the Jamaica fleet would sail homewards, escorted by a fifty gun ship and two frigates, and that he should certainly engage them if he fell in with them, though his ships would probably be too much cut up to prevent the escape of the convoy. He urged the convenience of attaching the Monsieur frigate, a privateer, to his command, which had been spoken of when he was at Paris, and which would give him a superiority over the convoy. On the 28th, he wrote, in relation to the proceedings of a court martial which had been held for the trial of several alleged offences, on board the *Bon Homme Richard*. Notwithstanding the "martial spirit" shown

by his seamen, in the affair with the two frigates, he observed a mutinous disposition among the English, "who remained on board from necessity, and not from choice," after he had been forbidden to enlist the French seamen. He had learned from Franklin, that accounts of these insurrectionary symptoms had reached the ears of M. De Sartine, with whom he was not in immediate correspondence; and was much annoyed by it. While the proceedings before the court martial were pending, the suggestions made by Jones to Franklin are creditable to his good sense. Two quarter-masters were charged with conspiracy at sea, against whom the evidence was strong. "Should any person," he says, "be condemned to death, I will suspend the execution of the sentence, until I have your orders on the subject. In the mean time, as I wish to give no offence in a foreign port, I submit to you, whether it would not be better to make this proceeding known at Versailles. Should I depart from hence, before I receive your orders, if there be any sentence of death, I will leave the condemned in prison on shore; and you may be assured that the court will proceed with due circumspection and lenity, as far as may be consonant with the rules of the service." The sentences of this court, however, except in the case of the lieutenant of the *Bon Homme Richard*, who was cashiered, as before mentioned, amounted only to whipping.

Any further delay than that which repairs occasioned would have been particularly vexatious at this time, as in compliance with the minister's desire, Franklin would have given orders to the Alliance to sail on a separate cruise. One hundred and nineteen American prisoners had arrived in a cartel at Nantes, and M. Chaumont paid a visit to the seaboard to obtain a better crew for the *Bon Homme Richard*. On the eve of his departure, he informed Franklin in a note, that it would probably be necessary to retard the sailing of that vessel, until she was more properly manned; in which case M. De Sartine desired that Captain Landais might have orders to put to sea forthwith from L'Orient, to cruise on the north of Scotland until the end of September.

The strange commander of the Alliance, if he did not instigate this order, would no doubt have been well pleased with its going into effect. What figure he would have cut upon the coasts, on his own account, cannot be conjectured. But the visit of M. Chaumont was in every respect unacceptable to Jones, who told the minister, "this second journey of M. Chaumont was altogether unnecessary; as I had, before his arrival at L'Orient, sent officers to Nantes to enlist Americans, and had also enlisted as many of the strangers as were willing to embark at L'Orient."

The contents and date of a letter addressed to Jones' eldest sister about this time, which has been accidentally preserved, make us acquainted with a pleasing trait in his character, which should not be overlooked, though it here interrupts the current of the narrative. The letter is dated Cork, June 1st, and encloses a bill of exchange drawn for thirty pounds sterling on a person in Carlisle, in favour of Captain Pliance, a friend of Jones' relations, for whose use he had made the remittance. The drawee could not be heard of, and with similar remittances, which Jones had made from time to time, this failed in coming to the hands of those for whom it was destined. But the circumstances, with many others, some of which will appear, proves that he never forgot or ceased to cherish those who were nearest to him in blood. In reply to a letter from his sister, Mrs. Taylor, at a subsequent period, informing him of the death of his mother and eldest sister, he says, "The loss of those dear friends is the more affecting to me, as they never received the remittances I intended for them, and as they had not, perhaps a true idea of my affection."

The Monsieur, described as a fine privateer of forty guns, and the Grandville of fourteen, joined the squadron. Their captains, Jones says, "requested him to permit them to follow his motions, and share his fortune; and offered to come under any obligation not to leave the squadron. But the *commissary* thought fit to leave the privateers to act on the great scale of honour, and would hear of no obligation being taken from them."

There can be little question, that M. Chaumont had no authority to give these vessels any other character than that which they possessed, nor had Jones any commissions to give their commanders. M. Chaumont was either instructed, or deemed it necessary, to require the commanders of the squadron to sign a paper, called a *concordat*, as intimated in a letter written by him two months before, which we have cited. Jones subsequently complained, that it was imposed upon him at the moment of departure, and said he would have rejected it with indignation if offered at the beginning. It was the fruitful source of many bitter commentaries; and a reference to it never failed to operate as an *oestrum*, exciting angry or sarcastic remark. It is to be observed, however, that having read it, he *did sign* it; and that in his earliest letters to M. Chaumont after sailing, he made no allusion to it. By this instrument, the five captains, Jones, Landais, Cottineau, Varage, and Ricot, "composing a squadron to be commanded by the oldest officer of the highest grade, and so on in succession, in case of death or retreat," agreed, that, unless separated from the squadron by order of the minister, each should act only by virtue of the brevet which they should have obtained from the United States, whose flag was to be displayed. The division of prizes to the officers and crews was to be made according to the American laws; but the proportion of each vessel* was to be regulated by the minister of the French marine and the American minister. A copy of the American laws was to be annexed to the agreement, after having been certified by Jones. Where their provisions were inadequate, the matter was to be determined as above mentioned. The orders of the French minister of marine and of the American plenipotentiary were to be executed. The prizes were to be remitted to M.

* The date of the *concordat* is not fixed. But on the 13th August, the day before he sailed, Jones wrote to Franklin that he was persuaded he would think it unreasonable that the captain of the *Vengeance* should share equally with the captain of the *Pallas*, &c. He did not, therefore, object to this article.

Le Ray de Chaumont, *who had furnished the expenses of the armament of the squadron*, and who was to be requested not to give up the part of the prizes accruing, to all the crews, and to any individual of the squadron, but to their order, and to be answerable in his own name. Armed vessels, whether French or American, might be associated with the squadron by common consent, and have such proportion of the prizes, as the laws of their respective countries allowed. In case of the death of a commander, he was to be replaced according to the order of the *tableau* ; with liberty to the person entitled, however, to remain in his own vessel and yield the vacancy to the next. In case of any accident happening to M. Varage, of the *Cerf*, he was to be replaced by his second in command, &c.

On the face of these articles there appears nothing that does not seem plain and equitable.

On the 10th of August, Jones issued his circular to the captains of the squadron, directing them never to chase so as to lose company, and, if separated from the *Bon Homme Richard*, to open their letters of rendezvous. On the 13th he addressed La Fayette, evidently under an erroneous impression as to the causes which had prevented the Major General from joining him. He mentioned that he had determined before receiving the last letter from him, to propose another project, which he was sure would have been adopted by La Fayette. He thanked him for the company and assistance of Messrs. Weibert and Chamillard.

At day break on the 14th August, the squadron sailed from Groix, consisting of seven sail, including the two privateers. "Unfortunately," says Jones, "there was neither secrecy nor subordination. Captain Jones saw his danger ; but his reputation being at stake, he put all to the hazard." On the 18th, they "retook a large ship belonging to Holland, laden chiefly with brandy and wine, that had been destined from Barcelona for Dunkirk, and taken eight days before by an English privateer. The captain of the *Monsieur*, however, took out of this

prize such articles as he pleased in the night, and the next day being astern of the squadron and to windward, he actually wrote orders *in his proper name*, and sent away the prize under one of his own officers." The commodore, however, not understanding the propriety of this disposition of *die Verwagting*, (the name of the Dutch ship,) sent her to L'Orient, with a letter to M. Chaumont; and the Monsieur, after detaining the squadron for twenty-four hours, by lagging behind, separated from it altogether. On the 21st, a brigantine was taken, loaded with provisions, from Limerick to London, and sent to L'Orient. On the 23d, in sight of Cape Clear and the S. W. part of Ireland, Jones had the first specimen of what he was to expect from Captain Landais. We quote from his official account.

"That afternoon, it being calm, I sent some armed boats to take a brigantine that appeared in the N. W. quarter. Soon after, in the evening, it became necessary to have a boat ahead of the ship to tow, as the helm could not prevent her from laying across the tide of flood, which would have driven us into a deep and dangerous bay, situated between the rocks on the south called the Skallocks, and on the north called the Blaskets. The ship's boats being absent, I sent my own barge ahead to tow the ship. The boats took the brigantine; she was called the *Fortune*, and bound with a cargo of oil, blubber, and staves, from Newfoundland for Bristol; this vessel I ordered to proceed immediately for Nantes or St. Malo. Soon after sunset the villains who towed the ship, cut the tow rope and decamped with my barge. Sundry shots were fired to bring them to, without effect; in the mean time the master of the *Bon Homme Richard*, without orders, manned one of the ship's boats, and with four soldiers pursued the barge in order to stop the deserters. The evening was clear and serene, but the zeal of that officer, Mr. Cutting Lunt, induced him to pursue too far, and a fog which came on soon afterward prevented the boats from rejoining the ship, although I caused signal guns to be frequently fired. The fog and calm continued the next day till towards evening. In the afternoon, Captain Landais came on board

the Bon Homme Richard and behaved towards me with great disrespect, affirming in the most indelicate manner and language, that I had lost my boats and people through my imprudence in sending boats to take a prize ! He persisted in his reproaches, though he was assured by Messrs. De Weibert and De Chamillard, that the barge was towing the ship at the time of elopement, and that she had not been sent in pursuit of the prize. He was affronted, because I would not the day before suffer him to chase without my orders, and to approach the dangerous shore I have already mentioned, where he was an entire stranger, and where there was not sufficient wind to govern a ship. He told me he was the only American in the squadron, and was determined to follow his own opinion in chasing when and where he thought proper, and in every other matter that concerned the service ; and that if we continued in that situation three days longer, the squadron would be taken." This account of the behaviour of Landais on this occasion is confirmed, with immaterial variations, by several respectable officers present. His gestures were as violent and indecorous as his language. The declaration of Lieutenant Colonel Weibert, afterwards of the corps of American engineers, then Jones' Lieutenant, leads us to infer that this uninspired madman may have been exasperated, by misunderstanding the *Reproof valiant* for the *Lie direct*. Colonel Weibert, says : " The commodore did not say to M. Landais, ' you lie,' but, ' it is an untruth,' [referring to the manner in which the boats had been lost,] ' which M. Landais was pleased to interpret as a *formal giving the lie* ; who was never able to overcome his peevish, obstinate, turbulent, and ungovernable temper, which he constantly showed during the whole of the campaign." He adds that Landais rendered his insulting expressions in English immediately into French ; in order that M. Chamillard, who was present, might apprehend their import. As Jones could not find out the character of this *preux chevalier* at once, he certainly proved the sincerity of his professions by subjugating his anger to the great interest he had at heart. He must soon have begun to suspect that there was

a crick in the captain's judgment. He was afterward induced to consider him a Major Longbow.*

The *Cerf* was sent to reconnoitre the coast, and endeavour to recover the boats and people. After standing off and on the coast till the evening of the 26th, neither the *Cerf* nor the boats appeared. The *Cerf* Jones says in his *Journal*, was seen by Mr. Lunt, the master, on the day she was sent to reconnoitre; and he approached her gladly, "but that cutter then hoisting English colours and firing at the boat, the unhappy Mr. Lunt imagined himself mistaken, landed, and was made prisoner. Thus Captain Jones lost from the crew of the *Bon Homme Richard*, the master and another officer; with twenty of his best seamen. Mr. Lunt was reconducted to a wretched dungeon in England, where he formerly had long experience of English cruelty, from whence, it is reported, he was at last relieved by death." The cutter was not subsequently found at the first or second rendezvous. She had returned to France; and the *Grandville* having secured a prize, on the 26th, followed her example. The evening of that day was very stormy; and, against his own judgment, as he says, but in consequence of assertions made by Landais, he left a station where he would have preferred remaining a week longer. In his *Journal* for the King, he says, "it was his intention to cruise off the south west coast of Ireland for twelve or fifteen days, in order to interrupt the enemy's homeward bound East India ships, that he had been informed from England would return without convoy, and steer for that point of land. But Captain Landais of the *Alliance* began to speak and act as though he had not been under the command of Captain Jones; and made great objections to remaining on that coast, expressing apprehension, that the enemy would send a superior force." Jones made the signal for the course, and steered to the northward; but Captain Landais chose to alter *his* course two points by the compass,

* See Appendix No. VIII.

on the same night, and was not seen again until the 31st, when he rejoined the squadron with a Letter of Marque, which he had taken, of 20 guns, bound from Liverpool for Jamaica, with a valuable cargo. He appeared in sight while Jones was giving chase to another Letter of Marque, off cape Wrath, which proved to be the Union, of 22 guns, from London for Quebec, with a cargo of great value ; consisting of sails, rigging, anchors, cables, &c. for the enemy's vessels on the lakes. Neither of these vessels made any resistance. Owing to Landais hoisting American colours, though English were flying on board the Bon Homme Richard, the public despatches on board the Union were lost. Landais sent a quaint message, to know whether Jones or he should man the prize ; as, in the latter case, he would suffer no boat nor person from the Bon Homme Richard to go near her. Ridiculous as this was, Jones says he yielded to it for the sake of peace, and received the prisoners on board his ship, while the prize was manned from the Alliance. On the same afternoon, and on the next morning, Landais refused to obey Jones' signals, and on the 3d of September acted in direct opposition to his orders, in relation to the two prizes he had been ordered to bring to the rendezvous. He sent them to Bergen in Norway, where they were given up to the English by the Danish government. In the evening of the 4th, the commodore sent for the captains to come on board of his ship, to consult on future operations. Landais refused to comply, and sent back several uncivil messages, and an extraordinary letter. Mr. Mease, the purser, a very gallant man, at first alone, and subsequently with Captain Cottineau and M. Chamillard, in vain went on board of the Alliance, to intercede with the doughty sea Achilles. He "spoke of Captain Jones in terms highly disrespectful and insolent ; and said he would see him on shore, when they must kill one or the other, &c." On the night of the 6th, (in the words of the epitaph on a tablet erected to him in one of the New York churches,) 'il disparût.' A gale commenced blowing on the afternoon of the 5th, which continued

for some days, and Landais separated from his consorts with two small prizes which he had picked up. The *Pallas* and *Vengeance* alone remained with the *Bon Homme Richard*; and the winds continued contrary, so that land was not seen until the evening of the 13th, when the Cheviot hills in the south east of Scotland became visible. Jones proceeds to say in his *Journal*: "Though much weakened and embarrassed with prisoners, he was anxious to teach the enemy humanity, by some exemplary stroke of retaliation, and to relieve the remainder of the Americans from captivity in England, as well as to make a diversion in the north, to favour a formidable descent which he then expected would have been made on the south side of Great Britain, under cover of the great combined fleet. He sent for the captains of the *Pallas* and *Vengeance*, and communicated to them his intentions; but after spending the whole night, all his arguments on the side of honour and humanity failed. He then spoke to their ruling passion, and showed them a large heap of gold, at the end of the prospect. He was now heard with attention; and they entered warmly into his project, which was, to lay Leith, and perhaps Edinburgh, under a contribution." He was apprized that an armed ship of 20 guns and two or three fine cutters lay in Leith road; and, had he been alone, he says, "the wind being favourable, I would have proceeded directly up the Firth, and must have succeeded; as they lay there in a state of perfect indolence and security, which would have proved their ruin. Unfortunately for me, the *Pallas* and *Vengeance* were both at a considerable distance in the offing; they having chased to the southward; this obliged us to steer out of the Firth again to meet them."

The prospect of levying £200,000 upon the inhabitants of Leith having prevailed upon the French Commanders to assent to the enterprise, every order was given for taking the guard ship and cutters, and every disposition made for landing troops under Lieutenant Colonel Chamillard. The summons to the magistrates of Leith, and the capitulation they were to

sign were prepared ;* but "so much time had been unavoidably spent in pointed remarks, and sage deliberations, that night, that the wind became contrary in the morning."

The following note in his own hand writing, is subjoined to a copy of this summons. "N. B. The sudden and violent storm which arose in the moment when the squadron was abreast of

* "The Honourable Captain Jones, Commander in Chief of the American squadron now in Europe, on board the American ship of war the Bon Homme Richard, at anchor in the road of Leith, September the —, 1779.

"To the Worshipful the Provost of Leith, or, in his absence, to the Chief Magistrate who is now actually present and in authority there.

"Sir—The British marine force that has been stationed here for the protection of your city and commerce, being now taken by the American arms under my command, I have the honour to send you this by my officer, Lieutenant Colonel de Chamillard, who commands the vanguard of my troops. I do not wish to distress the poor inhabitants; my intention is only to demand your contribution towards the reimbursement which Britain owes to the much injured citizens of America. Savages would blush at the unmanly violation and rapacity that has marked the tracks of British tyranny in America, from which neither virgin innocence, nor helpless age has been a plea of protection or pity.

"Leith and its port now lays at our mercy; and did not the plea of humanity stay the hand of just retaliation, I should, *without advertisement*, lay it in ashes. Before I proceed to that stern duty as an officer, my duty *as a man* induces me to propose to you, by the means of a reasonable ransom, to prevent such a scene of horror and distress. For this reason I have authorized Lieutenant Colonel de Camillard to conclude and agree with you on the terms of ransom, allowing you exactly half an hour's reflection before you finally accept or reject the terms which he shall propose.

"If you accept the terms offered, within the time limited, you may rest assured that no farther debarkation of troops will be made, but that the re-embarkation of the vanguard will immediately follow, and that the property of the citizens shall remain unmolested.

"I have the honour to be, &c."

Keith Island, (Inchkeith Island,) which forms the entrance of the road of Leith, rendered impracticable the execution of the foregoing project." Jones did not, however, abandon readily what he had so resolutely undertaken, notwithstanding he must have been aware, as was the fact, that the alarm had become general on the shore, and in the interior.* An express reached

* The following extracts from English newspapers may not be uninteresting.

From the London Chronicle of September 2d, 1779.

"Yesterday an express arrived with an account, that the famous Paul Jones, (who some time since plundered the house of the Earl of Selkirk on the coast of Scotland, and endeavoured to set fire to the town of Whitehaven, and after an obstinate engagement took the Drake sloop of war) has made his appearance on our coasts with three ships of force under his command. Being in want of provisions and fresh water, he landed a number of men, who carried off a parcel of sheep and oxen, for which he bountifully paid the owners, and immediately weighed anchor, without committing any sort of hostility on the inhabitants. The drift and intention of this adventurer is to intercept our linen ships, and to watch for some of the East India fleet, that are daily expected to touch at Cork. His orders, it seems, are to keep close to the shore, and look into our ports, to give intelligence of our situation to the united fleets. The above came express from Dublin to London, dated 28th of August, 1779."

From the London Chronicle of September 12th, 1779.

"The American squadron which sailed from Brest about the 15th July, under the command of Paul Jones, consists of one frigate of 40 guns, mounted on one deck, two 32 gun frigates, two Salem privateers of 18 and 20 guns, and a tender of 10 guns. The purpose of this squadron is to intercept the victuallers from Cork for North America. They have already taken two provision ships to New York, several trading vessels, and have much alarmed the coasts of Ireland."

From the same paper of September 14th, 1779.

"Extract of a letter from Cork, August 25th, 1779.—We have this morning received an express from Tralee, acquainting us that the coast officer at Inveragh had advised them, that on the 23d, in the morning, seven men landed there from an open boat, who said they had escaped the preceding night, from a ship belonging to the squadron of Paul Jones, which sailed from France on the 10th instant, where they had supplied themselves with a large quantity of combustibles. They had taken four prizes, one of which was called the May Flower, bound to London. At one o'clock the same day, 17 men more landed at that place, supposed to be in pursuit of the above seven. The squadron lay at the Skellix, in full view, and the country was in an uproar, when the advices came away. The first men who landed, said, that Jones' intention was to scour the coast, and burn as many places as he could. There were a number of French on board.

Edinburgh on the 15th, announcing that three strange ships were seen off Eyemouth on the afternoon of the preceding day ; and that a ship, supposed to mount 40 or 50 guns, had been seen off Dunbar. At 5 P. M. on the 15th, they were distinctly seen from Edinburgh, sailing up the Frith of Forth ; but whether they were French vessels, or the squadron of Paul Jones, was not ascertained. Batteries were hastily erected at Leith, and the trades petitioned for arms, which were supplied from the castle of Edinburgh. So runs the oft told story which I transcribe. Jones says : " We continued working to windward up the Frith without being able to reach the road of Leith, till on the morning of the 17th, when, being almost within cannon shot of the town, having every thing in readiness for a descent, a very severe gale of wind came on, and being directly contrary, obliged us to bear away, after having in vain endeavoured for some time to withstand its violence. The gale was so severe, that one of the prizes that had been taken on the 14th sunk to the bottom, the crew being with difficulty saved. As the alarm by this time had reached Leith, by means of a cutter that had watched our motions that morning, and as the wind continued contrary, (though more moderate in the evening,) I thought it

" Dublin, August 27th.—I am directed forthwith to make this intelligence known in the most extensive manner, that all persons, particularly those resident on the coast, may be on their guard to repel any hostility.

" By order of the Commissioners,

" JOS. L'ESTRANGE, Dep. Coll."

From the Hibernian Journal of September 1st.

" Custom House, Dublin, August 27th.—Sir Richard Herron, by direction of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, has communicated to the board intelligence which his Excellency has received, that on the 24th instant, at 1 o'clock, seven men landed at Ballinskellix in the county of Kerry, from a frigate called the *Bon Homme*, commanded by Paul Jones, mounting 40 guns, having in company the *Alliance* of 36, the *Pallas* of 32, the *Revenge* of 12, the *Le Grand* of 14, and a large Cutter of 18 guns, having on board in all about 2,000 men. The people imagine that Jones' intentions are to scour the coast, and burn some principal towns, having a quantity of combustibles shipped on board the vessels in France.

" JOS. L'ESTRANGE, Dep. Coll."

impossible to pursue the enterprise with a good prospect of success ; especially as Edinburgh, where there is always a number of troops, is only a mile distant from Leith ; therefore, I gave up the project."

An incident which showed how much the spectators on shore were yet in the dark, occurred on the 16th, which Jones thus relates in his Journal : " A member of the British Parliament sent off a boat from the north shore, to give information that he was greatly afraid of Paul Jones, and begging for some powder and shot. Captain Jones set his fears to rest, by sending him a barrel of powder with a kind message, but had no *suitable shot*." The principal messenger he detained, as pilot for the road of Leith. It appears that he also employed the captain of a small collier, taken on the 15th, to assist him by his knowledge of the coast ; and when he afterwards abandoned the enterprise, he gave this man up his vessel, " on account of his attachment to America, and the faithful information and important services he rendered, by his general knowledge of the east coast of Britain. I had given orders to sink the old vessel, when the tears of this honest man prevailed over my intention."*

* The following notes are from the Edinburgh Life. " This ' honest man,' but very bad patriot, was Andrew Robertson, master of the *Friendship*, of Kirkcaldy. After being for two days kept on board the *Bon Homme Richard*, and having his ship given up to him for ' faithful information,' and ' important services,' he pretended that Commodore Jones had put it to ransom. This, indeed, was the face necessary to put on the affair ; but the Commodore had previously declared that he had no authority to ransom prizes. The ransom-passport is amusing, from its date, and the circumstances under which it was granted. It is written by a French marine officer, who probably acted as the secretary of Commodore Jones, but is signed by himself.

" ' L'Honorable Capitaine John Paul Jones, Ecuyer, commandant en chef l'escadre Americaine actuellement en Europe,

" ' A tous ceux qui ces presentes verront, spécialement les sujets de la France :

" ' Je certifie par le présent passeport, que le vaisseau *Friendship*, commandé par André Robertson, du port de Kirkcaldy, et venant du dit lieu pour aller à Riga, a été pris par l'escadre Americaine que je commande, et qu'il est rançonné : C'est pourquoi je prie et requiers tous les sujets de la France et de l'Amérique, de laisser libre-

Thus were the good citizens of Leith preserved from the necessity of opening their coffers, when two tacks more would have brought Jones along side the enemy in the road. He would not yet give up the design of effecting some enterprise of pith upon the coast. He treated the humours of the wind, as policy and necessity compelled him to treat those of his absent associate, Landais; and, as soon as the gale abated, he endeavoured to prevail on the Captains of the *Pallas* and *Vengeance* to co-operate. But these gentlemen did not like the "glory" they had got, the gale, or the preparation on shore. It is surmised by the writer of *Jones' Life*, published in Edinburgh, that he had designs upon Hull or Newcastle. It is, however, a mere matter of conjecture. M. Cottineau told him, that a superior force would be sent against him; and that, if he continued two days longer on the coast, they would all be taken. Being aware, by some means, which Jones ascribed to the com-

ment passer le dit vaisseau *Friendship*, et continuer son voyage, sans le troubler en façon quelconque.

"Donné à la mer à bord du *Bon Homme Richard*, le dix-sept Septembre, mil sept cent soixante dix-neuf.

"J. PAUL JONES."

"The prodigious sensation caused by the appearance of the squadron of Paul Jones in the Frith of Forth is hardly yet forgotten on the coast of Fife. There are various accounts of the manner in which this daring attempt was defeated. The 17th September, when Jones advanced to Leith, happened to be a Sunday. His ship, the *Bon Homme Richard*, stood at times so near the northern shores as to be distinctly seen by the crowds assembled on the beach, and on the commanding heights in the neighbourhood. At one time the *Bon Homme Richard* was not more than a mile from Kirkcaldy, a thriving and wealthy seaport. The alarm was naturally very great in that town; and the Rev. Mr. Shirra, a worthy and very eccentric dissenting clergyman, remarkable for his quaint humour, instead of holding forth in the church as at ordinary times, where on this day he would have had but a thin audience, repaired to the fine level sandy beach of Kirkcaldy, and soon attracted a very numerous congregation. Here he prayed most fervently and earnestly, with that homely and familiar eloquence by which his sermons and prayers were distinguished, that the enterprise of 'the piratical invader Paul Jones might be defeated.' For once, it may be believed, the hearts of a congregation went with their minister. That violent gale, so much lamented by Paul Jones, suddenly arose; the alleged consequence of Mr. Shirra's

municativeness of M. Chaumont, of the limitation of the cruise, and its termination at the Texel, one of the captains informed a lieutenant of the *Bon Homme Richard*, that "they would leave the commodore if he did not agree to steer for the port of destination." Setting aside the question of subordination, the gallantry of these gentlemen is not to be impeached. They felt like men attacking in the dark with a comparatively ridiculous force, a fortress, the strength of which they had reason to suppose was great. Jones knew the weakness of some of the outworks; but he had not yet had opportunities to convince them of his extraordinary shrewdness, local information, and capacity to execute designs, which, to them appeared visionary. Their education, (independent of their national feeling, involving personal and professional pride, not unallied to captious jealousy,) had been probably *selon les regles*. Jones had educated himself, as to detail; and had learned from *Compte D'Orvilliers* the

powerful intercession. Such was long the popular belief. When, in after periods, this good old man was questioned on the subject, and complimented on the prevailing spirit of his prayer, which had so opportunely raised the wind that blew off Paul Jones, his usual reply, disclaiming the full extent of the compliment, was, 'I prayed—but the LORD sent the wind.' "

[I have not the work of Mr. Henderson, a tourist, who explored Scotland, England, and Wales, and related the above anecdote. In an extract from it, in Mr. Sherburne's Collections, he says, the incident took place in the preceding year, when Jones visited Whitehaven, from which he went round into the Frith of Forth; but as Jones did *not* go there, at that time, the tourist is in error.]

"A gentleman writing shortly afterwards from Amsterdam, to his friend in Leith, says: 'You may count it a very fortunate circumstance that this gentleman (Commodore Jones) was prevented from hurting you, when he was in your Frith, by a *strong westerly wind*, and the springing of a mast, as, in a conversation I had with him in this city, he assured me that his intention was to seize the shipping in the harbour, and to set fire to such as he could not carry off. He seemed to be well acquainted with the coast, and knew' (thanks to 'honest' Andrew Robertson!) 'that there was no force to oppose him.' Jones is described at this time, by those who saw him, as being 'dressed in the American uniform, with a Scotch bonnet, edged with gold, as of a middling stature, wern countenance, and swarthy complexion.' "

duties of a commander of great fleets. With his force at that time, provided he did not contravene the laws of Congress, his own moral sense, or what would seem justifiable in the eyes of Dr. Franklin, he was not particular as to the manner in which he "retaliated" upon the enemy. He found it, however, necessary to yield to the opposition of the French commanders. In his official account, he says : " I am persuaded even now, that I would have succeeded ; and to the honour of my young officers, I found them as ardently disposed to the business as I could desire ; nothing prevented me from pursuing my design but the reproach that would have been cast upon my character, as a man of prudence, had the enterprise miscarried. It would have been said, " was he not forewarned by Captain Cottineau and others ? "

Many coasters and colliers were taken, several of which were sunk, by the squadron, in the Frith of Forth. Much damage was done to the coal trade ; but it is unnecessary to weary the reader with particulars. Captain Cottineau undertook to ransom a sloop, though Jones had told him previously he had no authority to ransom prizes. It was probably an excusable act ; and the commodore does not subsequently dwell upon it.

And now, after having agonized through a period of fifteen months, during which hope was not only deferred, but crucified in each lunar cycle ; after having set sail with a force that mocked all the promises made to him, in an old ship, fit only for a great sacrifice by which her rotten timbers might be eternized ; after having been abandoned by half of his squadron, and having taken a few prizes, of which, the most valuable had been lost by disobedience and caprice ; Captain Jones was making for the Texel, in that frame of mind which epic poetry may attempt to shadow forth, but which heroic projectors of original enterprises, who have been foiled by the weakness of their agents and the ever varying elements, can alone understand. He felt, like Buonaparte, (I know not whether the apologetical *parva componere magnis* be indispensable,) that he *ought to have suc-*

ceeded. He had *not*, however; and as no renown awaits the unsuccessful, his spirits must have been agitated and depressed —when glory “fell in his way, and he found it.”

The battle between the *Bon Homme Richard* and the *Serapis*, must always be told to disadvantage, if not in the words of the conqueror. It was fought on the evening and in the night of September 23d, under a bright and beautiful harvest moon, and its issue awaited by multitudes, (thousands it is said,) who watched the engagement from the shore. The remark often made, that it has no parallel in the history of naval engagements, has no exception of which we are aware, if restricted to those between ships of civilized nations. The official account of Jones follows.

“On the 21st, we saw and chased two sail off Flamborough Head; the *Pallas* chased in the N. E. quarter, while the *Bon Homme Richard*, followed by the *Vengeance*, chased in the S. W.; the one I chased, a brigantine collier in ballast, belonging to Scarborough, was soon taken, and sunk immediately afterwards, as a fleet then appeared to the southward. This was so late in the day, that I could not come up with the fleet before night; at length, however, I got so near one of them as to force her to run ashore between Flamborough Head and the Spurn. Soon after I took another, a brigantine from Holland, belonging to Sunderland, and at daylight the next morning, seeing a fleet steering towards me from the Spurn, I imagined them to be a convoy bound from London for Leith, which had been for some time expected. One of them had a pendant hoisted, and appeared to be a ship of force. They had not, however, courage to come on, but kept back, all except the one which seemed to be armed, and that one also kept to the windward, very near the land, and on the edge of dangerous shoals, where I could not with safety approach. This induced me to make a signal for a pilot, and soon afterwards two pilots' boats came off. They informed me that a ship that wore a pendant was

an armed merchantman, and that a king's frigate lay there in sight, at anchor, within the Humber, waiting to take under convoy a number of merchant ships bound to the northward. The pilots imagined the *Bon Homme Richard* to be an English ship of war, and consequently communicated to me the private signal which they had been required to make. I endeavoured by this means to decoy the ships out of the port; but the wind then changing, and with the tide, becoming unfavourable for them, the deception had not the desired effect, and they wisely put back. The entrance of the Humber is exceedingly difficult and dangerous, and as the *Pallas* was not in sight, I thought it imprudent to remain off the entrance; therefore steered out again to join the *Pallas* off Flamborough Head. In the night we saw and chased two ships until three o'clock in the morning, when, being at a very small distance from them, I made the private signal of reconnoissance, which I had given to each captain before I sailed from Groix: one half of the answer only was returned. In this position both sides lay to till daylight, when the ships proved to be the *Alliance* and the *Pallas*.

"On the morning of that day, the 23d, the brig from Holland not being in sight, we chased a brigantine that appeared laying to, to windward. About noon, we saw and chased a large ship that appeared coming round Flamborough Head, from the northward, and at the same time I manned and armed one of the pilot boats to send in pursuit of the brigantine, which now appeared to be the vessel that I had forced ashore. Soon after this, a fleet of forty-one sail appeared off Flamborough Head, bearing N. N. E. This induced me to abandon the single ship which had then anchored in Burlington Bay; I also called back the pilot boat, and hoisted a signal for a general chase.* When

* This pilot boat contained sixteen of the best hands on board the *Bon Homme Richard*, well armed, under the command of Mr. Henry Lunt, the second Lieutenant. She did not pay ready attention to signals, which obliged Jones to remain to windward some time after he had made the signals to chase the fleet. When the *Serapis* and *Cou d'ass* of Scarborough stood from the shore, Jones crowded all sail to overtake

the fleet discovered us bearing down, all the merchant ships crowded sail towards the shore. The two ships of war that protected the fleet at the same time steered from the land, and made the disposition for battle. In approaching the enemy, I crowded every possible sail, and made the signal for the line of battle, to which the Alliance showed no attention. Earnest as I was for the action, I could not reach the commodore's ship until seven in the evening,* being then within pistol shot, when he hailed the Bon Homme Richard. We answered him by firing a whole broadside.

"The battle being thus begun, was continued with unremitting fury. Every method was practised on both sides to gain an advantage, and rake each other; and I must confess that the enemy's ship, being much more manageable than the Bon Homme Richard, gained thereby several times an advantageous situation, in spite of my best endeavours to prevent it. As I had to deal with an enemy of greatly superior force, I was under

them, leaving the Vengeance to windward, with orders to bring down the pilot boat as fast as possible, and tell Lieutenant Lunt to board the Bon Homme Richard, and enter the men on the left side, after the action was begun, if he could not previously overtake her. The Vengeance was ordered to do what she could, either by assisting in the battle, or taking and destroying the merchant ships. She, however, attempted nothing against the convoy and did not come into the action. The pilot boat did not approach the Bon Homme Richard, until after the battle was ended. So that, with the men lost on the coast of Ireland, and sent away in the prizes, Jones was weakly manned, and thinly officered.—*Journal for the King*. Lieutenant Lunt, says in his certificate, that he could not approach the B. H. R. until the action was raging; when, it being night, he did not think it prudent to go alongside.

* "As soon as it was night, the enemy tacked, and steered with full sail towards the shore. Captain Jones, seeing this motion by the help of his night glass, (for the moon was not yet risen,) made the necessary disposition, and altered his course to get between the enemy and the land. The captain of the Pallas, seeing the Bon Homme Richard alter her course, concluded that the crew had revolted, and killed Captain Jones. This idea had long prevailed in the squadron, and the Pallas in consequence hauled close by the wind. Captain Jones found the Alliance lying to, out of cannon shot, on the enemy's weather quarter. The enemy, having every sail set, would have escaped and got under Scarborough castle, had not Captain Jones crossed the bow of the Serapis, and begun the action within pistol shot."—*Journal for the King*.

the necessity of closing with him, to prevent the advantage which he had over me in point of manœuvre. It was my intention to lay the *Bon Homme Richard* athwart the enemy's bow; but as that operation required great dexterity in the management of both sails and helm, and some of our braces being shot away, it did not exactly succeed to my wish. The enemy's bowsprit, however, came over the *Bon Homme Richard's* poop by the mizen-mast, and I made both ships fast together in that situation,* which, by the action of the wind on the enemy's sails,† forced her stern close to the *Bon Homme Richard's* bow, so that the ships lay square alongside of each other, the yards being all entangled, and the cannon of each ship touching the opponent's.‡ When this position took place, it was eight o'clock, previous to which the *Bon Homme Richard* had received sundry eighteen-pound shots below the water, and leaked very much. My battery of twelve-pounders, on which I had placed my chief dependence, being commanded by Lieutenant Dale and Colonel Weibert, and manned principally with American seamen and French volunteers, was entirely silenced and abandoned. As to the six old eighteen-pounders that formed the battery of the lower gun-deck, they did no service

* "Mr. Stacy" (the acting master,) "not having returned with the hawser, Captain Jones with his own hands made fast to the mizen-mast of the B. H. R. the ropes that hung from the enemy's bowsprit."—*Journal for the King*."

† "The Captain of the *Serapis*, imputing the position of the two ships to accident, let fall an anchor from the larboard bow; fearing that Captain Jones would rake him, and expecting to get disentangled, and thereby recover his superiority."—*Ib*. See also Lieutenant Dale's account, *post*."

‡ "Here the enemy attempted to board the *Bon Homme Richard*, but were deterred from it, on finding Captain Jones with a pike in his hand at the gangway, ready to receive them. They imagined he had, as they said, 'a large *corps de reserve*;' which was a fortunate mistake; as no man took up a pike but himself."—*Journal for the King*. Captain Pearson speaks in his official account, of an attempt to board, at a later period of the action, after the carpenter had called for quarter. The boarders returned, saying they had discovered a superior number, laying under cover, with pikes in their hands, ready to receive them. Probably both commanders refer to the same incident and the concealed men, were the imaginary *corps de reserve*."

whatever, except firing eight shot in all. Two out of three of them burst at the first fire, and killed almost all the men who were stationed to manage them. Before this time, too, Colonel de Chamillard, who commanded a party of twenty soldiers on the poop, had abandoned that station after having lost some of his men. I had now only two pieces of cannon, (nine-pounders,) on the quarter-deck, that were not silenced, and not one of the heavier cannon was fired during the rest of the action. The purser, M. Mease, who commanded the guns on the quarter-deck, being dangerously wounded in the head, I was obliged to fill his place, and with great difficulty rallied a few men, and shifted over one of the lee quarter-deck guns, so that we afterwards played three pieces of nine-pounders upon the enemy. The tops alone seconded the fire of this little battery, and held out bravely during the whole of the action, especially the maintop, where Lieutenant Stack commanded. I directed the fire of one of the three cannon against the main-mast, with double-headed shot, while the other two were exceedingly well served with grape and canister shot, to silence the enemy's musketry and clear her decks, which was at last effected. The enemy were, as I have since understood, on the instant of calling for quarter, when the cowardice or treachery of three of my under-officers induced them to call to the enemy. The English commodore asked me if I demanded quarter, and I having answered him in the most determined negative, they renewed the battle with double fury. They were unable to stand the deck; but the fire of their cannon, especially the lower battery, which was entirely formed of ten-pounders, was incessant; both ships were set on fire in various places, and the scene was dreadful beyond the reach of language. To account for the timidity of my three under-officers, I mean, the gunner, the carpenter, and the master-at-arms, I must observe, that the two first were slightly wounded, and, as the ship had received various shot under water, and one of the pumps being shot away, the carpenter expressed his fears that she would sink, and the other two concluded that she was sinking, which occasioned the gun-

ner to run aft on the poop, without my knowledge, to strike the colours. Fortunately for me, a cannon ball had done that before, by carrying away the ensign-staff; he was therefore reduced to the necessity of sinking, as he supposed, or of calling for quarter, and he preferred the latter.

"All this time the Bon Homme Richard had sustained the action alone, and the enemy, though much superior in force, would have been very glad to have got clear, as appears by their own acknowledgments, and by their having let go an anchor the instant that I laid them on board, by which means they would have escaped, had I not made them well fast to the Bon Homme Richard.

"At last, at half past nine o'clock, the Alliance appeared, and I now thought the battle at an end; but, to my utter astonishment, he discharged a broadside full into the stern of the Bon Homme Richard.* We called to him for God's sake to forbear

* In the *Journal for the King*, it is said, that when the Alliance appeared for the first time, after the beginning of the action, she fired a broadside with grape shot "into the bow of the Bon Homme Richard, and the stern of the Serapis, which then made but one small object." Jones alludes in the text to her second appearance, when, after Landais had paid a visit to Captain Cottineau, who had captured the Pallas, at the urgent request of the latter, that he would either go to assist the B. H. R. or remain to take care of the prize, he "got into a position to rake with a second broadside the Bon Homme Richard and Serapis; the first in the stern, the other in the bow." It was then they cried out to him for God's sake to stop, &c. "Jones begged Landais to cease firing, or to lay the Bon Homme Richard along side, and assist with some men from the Alliance. He disobeyed. Having passed along the off side of the B. H. R. he was again absent for some time, and then returned, in a position to rake her the third time. He discharged this last broadside into the stern of the Serapis, and head of the Bon Homme Richard."—*Journal for the King*. Captain Pearson speaks in general terms of the Alliance sailing round, during the whole action, and raking him fore and aft, and eventually determining him to strike, by coming across his stern and pouring in a broadside. The weight of evidence is, that the Alliance fired only three broadsides altogether, within gun shot. The charges against Landais, from 13 to 21 inclusive, well attested by all the officers on board the Bon Homme Richard, and corroborated by the Captains of the Pallas and Vengeance, and by Lieutenant Lunt, who was in the pilot boat, confirm the above statement. The 18th states, that "he never passed on the off side of the Serapis, nor could that ship bring a gun to bear on the Alliance, at any time during the engagement." Captain Pearson only speaks of being "raked," and having a broadside poured into his stern. The shot received

firing into the *Bon Homme Richard* ; yet they passed along the off side of the ship, and continued firing. There was no possibility of his mistaking the enemy's ship for the *Bon Homme Richard*, there being the most essential difference in their appearance and construction. Besides, it was then full moon light, and the sides of the *Bon Homme Richard* were all black, while the sides of the prize were all yellow. Yet, for the greater security, I showed the signal of our reconnoissance, by putting out three lanterns, one at the head, another at the stern, and the third in the middle, in a horizontal line. Every tongue cried that he was firing into the wrong ship, but nothing availed ; he passed round, firing into the *Bon Homme Richard*'s head, stern, and broadside, and by one of his volleys killed several of my best men,* and mortally wounded a good officer on the forecastle only.† My situation was really deplorable ; the *Bon Homme Richard* received various shot under water from the *Alliance* ; the leak gained on the pumps, and the fire increased much on board both ships. Some officers persuaded me to strike, of whose courage and good sense I entertain a high opinion. My treacherous master-at-arms let loose all my prisoners without my knowledge, and my prospects became gloomy indeed.‡ I would not, however, give up the point.

by the *Bon Homme Richard*, on the off side, *must* have come from the *Alliance*. The fact of the *Alliance* firing into the *Bon Homme Richard*, is also attested by the old log-book of the *Bon Homme Richard*, in the possession of Mr. George Napier, Advocate, in Edinburgh.

* Agreeably to report. *Note by Jones* : "The furious cannonade from the upper and lower batteries of the *Serapis*, occasioned many who had been skulking below in the *Bon Homme Richard*, to come on deck. They were exposed to the grape shot of the *Alliance* while the enemy's men were under cover. It was, therefore, difficult to tell how many men on board the B. H. R. were killed and wounded by the shot from the *Alliance*."—*Journal for the King*. It was attested by half a dozen officers, that Landais said, next morning, he had raked with grape shot, which he knew would scatter.

† So in two different MS. copies, and three in print. He means, the only efficient officer on the forecastle.

‡ "This must have ruined Captain Jones, had not the prisoners been terrified out of their senses. Captain Jones availed himself of their fears, and placed them to work the pumps."—*Journal for the King*.

The enemy's main-mast began to shake,* their firing decreased fast, ours rather increased, and the British colours were struck at half an hour past ten o'clock.†

"This prize proved to be the British ship of war the *Serapis*, a new ship of forty-four guns, built on the most approved construction, with two complete batteries, one of them of eighteen-pounders, and commanded by the brave Commodore Richard Pearson. I had yet two enemies to encounter, far more formidable than the Britons, I mean, fire and water. The *Serapis* was attacked only by the first, but the *Bon Homme Richard* was assailed by both; there was five feet water in the hold, and though it was moderate from the explosion of so much gun-

* It went by the board, Captain Pearson says, just as he was striking. Jones says the same. Jones notices it as very remarkable, how well the three light quarter-deck guns were served during the whole action, and the confusion that ensued when the water was gaining below, the ships alternately catching fire from each other, the *Alliance* firing at the *Bon Homme Richard*, and the prisoners set loose. "He got one of the off guns over soon after the *Alliance* raked the first time, but could *never muster strength sufficient to bring over the other.*" In the clear moon light, the enemy's mast being painted yellow, the flames of the main shrouds, &c. made the main-mast a distinct mark. Captain Jones took aim at it with double-headed shot.

† "There was no occasion for a boat or bridge between the two ships. Captain Pearson stepped on board the *Bon Homme Richard*, and delivered up his sword to Captain Jones, who returned it to him, because he had bravely used it. He then heard, and the next morning saw, with astonishment, the inferior force and mangled condition of the *Bon Homme Richard.*"—*Journal for the King.* Mr. Goldsborough, in his *Naval Chronicle*, p. 21, retails the following ridiculous anecdote:

"When Captain Pearson was about delivering up his sword to Captain Jones, he observed, 'I cannot, sir, but feel much mortification at the idea of surrendering my sword, to a man who has fought me with a rope round his neck.' Captain Jones received his sword, but immediately returned it, with the remark, 'you have fought gallantly, sir, and I hope your king will give you a better ship.'"

Captain Pearson was a gentleman, as well as a brave officer. Though it appears by his autographic notes, that in 'reading and writing' he was not as well taught as Jones, he would have been guilty of no such nonsense as is above charged to him. Had he been so, Jones would probably have given the sword to the man at his elbow, and interchanged no superfluous compliments with his vanquished customer. Such absurdities should not be a part of what is called, "The *Naval Chronicle* of the United States."

powder, yet the three pumps that remained could with difficulty only keep the water from gaining. The fire broke out in various parts of the ship, in spite of all the water that could be thrown in to quench it, and at length broke out as low as the powder magazine, and within a few inches of the powder. In that dilemma, I took out the powder upon deck, ready to be thrown overboard at the last extremity, and it was ten o'clock the next day, the 24th, before the fire was entirely extinguished. With respect to the situation of the *Bon Homme Richard*, the rudder was cut entirely off, the stern frame and transoms were almost entirely cut away, and the timbers by the lower deck, especially from the main-mast towards the stern, being greatly decayed with age, were mangled beyond my power of description, and a person must have been an eye witness to form a just idea of the tremendous scene of carnage, wreck, and ruin, which every where appeared.* Humanity cannot but recoil from the prospect of such finished horror, and lament that war should be capable of producing such fatal consequences.

“After the carpenters, as well as Captain Cottineau and other men of sense, had well examined and surveyed the ship, (which was not finished before five in the evening,) I found every person to be convinced that it was impossible to keep the *Bon Homme Richard* afloat so as to reach a port, if the wind should increase, it being then only a very moderate breeze. I had but little time to remove my wounded, which now became unavoidable, and which was effected in the course of the night

* “The *Bon Homme Richard* received little damage in her masts; but was cut entirely to pieces between decks, especially from the main-mast to the stern. In that space, there was an entire break on both sides, from the gun-deck, almost to the water's edge; so that towards the end of the action, almost all the shot of the *Serapis* had passed through the *Bon Homme Richard*, without touching. The rudder and transoms were cut off; and here and there an old rotten timber, besides the stern-post, was the only support that prevented the stern from falling down on the gun-room deck.” “Eight or ten of the *Bon Homme Richard*'s men took away a fine cutter boat, that had been at the stern of the *Serapis* during the action, and landed at Scarborough. Some others were so much afraid as to swim on board the *Alliance* after the action.”—*Journal for the King*

and next morning. I was determined to keep the *Bon Homme Richard* afloat, and, if possible, to bring her into port. For that purpose, the first lieutenant of the *Pallas* continued on board with a party of men to attend the pumps, with boats in waiting ready to take them on board, in case the water should gain on them too fast. The wind augmented in the night, and the next day, the 25th, so that it was impossible to prevent the good old ship from sinking. They did not abandon her till after nine o'clock; the water was then up to the lower deck, and a little after ten I saw, with inexpressible grief, the last glimpse of the *Bon Homme Richard*. No lives were lost with the ship,* but it was impossible to save the stores of any sort whatever. I lost even the best part of my clothes, books, and papers; and several of my officers lost all their clothes and effects.

“Having thus endeavoured to give a clear and simple relation of the circumstances and events that have attended the little armament under my command, I shall freely submit my conduct therein to the censure of my superiors and the impartial public. I beg leave, however, to observe, that the force put under my command was far from being well composed, and as the great majority of the actors in it have appeared bent on the pursuit of interest only, I am exceedingly sorry, that they and I have been at all concerned.”

“Captain Cottineau engaged the Countess of Scarborough, and took her, after an hour’s action, while the *Bon Homme Richard* engaged the *Serapis*. The Countess of Scarborough

* Captain Pearson stated in his official despatch, that the *Bon Homme Richard* sunk “with a great number of her wounded people on board.” He was in error. Jones repeats in his *Journal*, that “with the pilot boat, and the boats of the squadron, all the wounded were removed, and every person was saved. The lieutenant of the *Pallas* remained on board the *Bon Homme Richard*, with a party to attend the pumps, and boats waiting to take them on board, if they could no longer keep her afloat. In the morning, the wind increased and they were obliged to abandon her, the water being over the lower deck. Soon after the *Bon Homme Richard* disappeared, the stern and mizen-mast being seen last.

is an armed ship of 20 six-pounders, and was commanded by a king's officer. In the action, the Countess of Scarborough and the Serapis were at a considerable distance asunder; and the Alliance, as I am informed, fired into the Pallas and killed some men. If it should be asked, why the convoy was suffered to escape, I must answer, that I was myself in no condition to pursue, and that none of the rest showed any inclination; not even Mr. Ricot, who had held off at a distance to windward during the whole action, and withheld by force the pilot boat with my lieutenant and fifteen men.* The Alliance, too, was in a state to pursue the fleet, not having had a single man wounded, or a single shot fired at her from the Serapis, and only three that did execution from the Countess of Scarborough, at such a distance that one stuck in the side, and the other two just touched, and then dropped into the water. The Alliance killed one man only on board the Serapis. As Captain de Cottineau charged himself with manning and securing the prisoners of the Countess of Scarborough, I think the escape of the Baltic fleet cannot so well be charged to his account.†

“I should have mentioned, that the main-mast and mizen-top-mast of the Serapis fell overboard, soon after the captain had come on board the Bon Homme Richard.”

That the accounts of eye witnesses immediately concerned in this action may not be confused by commentary, we shall immediately add the narrative of Jones' first, and then, only lieutenant, Richard Dale, subsequently a distinguished post captain in the navy of the United States, said to have been furnished for Mr. Sherburne's Collections.

* This is founded on a report that has proved to be false; for it now appears, that Captain Ricot expressly ordered the pilot boat to board the Bon Homme Richard, which order was disobeyed.—*Note by Jones.*

† “It was a thick fog all the morning. When it began to clear up, the enemy's merchant ships had got safe into their harbours, and not a sail appeared along the shore.”—*Journal for the King.*

“ On the 23d of September, 1779, being below, was roused by an unusual noise upon deck. This induced me to go upon deck, when I found the men were swaying up the royal yards, preparatory to making sail for a large fleet under our lee. I asked the coasting pilot what fleet it was? He answered, ‘The Baltic Fleet, under convoy of the Serapis of 44 guns, and the Countess of Scarborough of 20 guns.’ A general chase then commenced of the Bon Homme Richard, the Vengeance, the Pallas, and the Alliance; the latter ship being then in sight, after a separation from the squadron of nearly three weeks; but which ship, as usual, disregarded the signals of the commodore. At this time our fleet headed to the northward with a light breeze, Flamborough Head being about two leagues distant. At seven P. M. it was evident the Baltic fleet perceived we were in chase, from the signal of the Serapis to the merchantmen to stand in shore. At the same time, the Serapis and Countess of Scarborough tacked ship and stood off shore, with the intention of drawing off our attention from the convoy. When these ships had separated from the convoy about two miles, they again tacked and stood in shore after the merchantmen. At about eight, being within hail, the Serapis demanded, ‘What ship is that?’ He was answered, ‘I can’t hear what you say.’ Immediately after the Serapis hailed again, ‘What ship is that? Answer immediately, or I shall be under the necessity of firing into you.’ At this moment I received orders from Commodore Jones to commence the action with a broadside, which, indeed, appeared to be simultaneous on board both ships. Our position being to windward of the Serapis, we passed ahead of her, and the Serapis coming up on our larboard quarter, the action commenced abreast of each other. The Serapis soon passed ahead of the Bon Homme Richard, and when he thought he had gained a distance sufficient to go down athwart the fore-foot to rake us, found he had not enough distance, and that the Bon Homme Richard would be aboard him, put his helm alee, which brought the two ships on a line; and the Bon Homme Richard having headway, ran her bows into the stern of the

Serapis. We had remained in this situation but a few minutes, when we were again hailed by the Serapis; 'Has your ship struck?' To which Captain Jones answered, 'I have not yet begun to fight.' As we were unable to bring a single gun to bear upon the Serapis, our top-sails were backed, while those of the Serapis being filled, the ships separated. The Serapis wore short round upon her heels, and her jib-boom ran into the mizen-rigging of the Bon Homme Richard; in this situation the ships were made fast together with a hawser, the bowsprit of the Serapis to the mizen-mast of the Bon Homme Richard, and the action recommenced from the starboard sides of the two ships. With a view of separating the ships, the Serapis let go her anchor, which manœuvre brought her head and the stern of the Bon Homme Richard to the wind, while the ships lay closely pressed against each other. A novelty in naval combats was now presented to many witnesses, but to few admirers. The rammers were run into the respective ships to enable the men to load, after the lower part of the Serapis had been blown away, to make room for running out their guns, and in this situation the ships remained until between 10 and 11 o'clock P. M. when the engagement terminated by the surrender of the Serapis.

"From the commencement to the termination of the action, there was not a man on board of the Bon Homme Richard ignorant of the superiority of the Serapis, both in weight of metal and in the qualities of the crews. The crew of that ship were picked seamen, and the ship itself had been only a few months off the stocks; whereas the crew of the Bon Homme Richard consisted of part American, English, and French, and in part of Maltese, Portuguese, and Malays; these latter contributing, by their want of naval skill and knowledge of the English language, to depress rather than elevate a just hope of success in a combat under such circumstances. Neither the consideration of the relative force of the ships, the fact of the blowing up of the gun-deck above them, by the bursting of two of the eighteen-pounders, nor the alarm that the ship was sink-

ing, could depress the ardour or change the determination of the brave Captain Jones, his officers and men. Neither the repeated broadsides of the Alliance, given with the view of sinking or disabling the *Bon Homme Richard*, the frequent necessity of suspending the combat to extinguish the flames, which several times were within a few inches of the magazine, nor the liberation, by the master-at-arms, of nearly 500 prisoners, could change or weaken the purpose of the American commander. At the moment of the liberation of the prisoners, one of them, a commander of a twenty gun ship, taken a few days before, passed through the ports on board the *Serapis*, and informed Captain Pearson, that if he would hold out only a little while longer, the ship alongside would either strike or sink, and that all the prisoners had been released to save their lives; the combat was accordingly continued with renewed ardour by the *Serapis*. The fire from the tops of the *Bon Homme Richard* was conducted with so much skill and effect as to destroy ultimately every man who appeared upon the quarter-deck of the *Serapis*, and induced her commander to order the survivors to go below. Nor even under shelter of the decks were they more secure. The powder-monkeys of the *Serapis* finding no officer to receive the eighteen-pound cartridges brought from the magazines, threw them on the main-deck, and went for more. These cartridges being scattered along the deck, and numbers of them broken, it so happened, that some of the hand-grenades thrown from the main-yard of the *Bon Homme Richard*, which was directly over the main-hatch of the *Serapis*, fell upon this powder, and produced a most awful explosion. The effect was tremendous; more than twenty of the enemy were blown to pieces, and many stood with only the collars of their shirts upon their bodies. In less than an hour afterwards, the flag of England, which had been nailed to the mast of the *Serapis*, was struck by Captain Pearson's own hand, as none of his people would venture aloft on this duty; and this, too, when more than 1,500 persons were witnessing the conflict, and the humiliating termination of it from Scarborough and Flamborough Head.

“Upon finding that the flag of the *Serapis* had been struck, I went to Captain Jones, and asked whether I might board the *Serapis*? to which he consented; and, jumping upon the gunwale, I seized the main-brace pennant, and swung myself upon her quarter-deck. Midshipman Mayant followed with a party of men, and was immediately run through the thigh with a boarding-pike by some of the enemy stationed in the waist, who were not informed of the surrender of the ship. I found Captain Pearson standing on the leeward side of the quarter-deck, and addressing myself to him, said, ‘Sir, I have orders to send you on board the ship alongside.’ The first lieutenant of the *Serapis* coming up at this moment, inquired of Captain Pearson, whether the ship alongside had struck to him? To which I replied, ‘No sir, the contrary; he has struck to us.’ The lieutenant renewing his inquiry, ‘Have you struck, sir?’ was answered, ‘Yes, I have.’ The lieutenant replied, ‘I have nothing more to say,’ and was about to return below, when I informed him, he must accompany Captain Pearson on board the ship alongside. He said, ‘If you will permit me to go below, I will silence the firing of the lower-deck guns.’ This request was refused, and, with Captain Pearson, he was passed over to the deck of the *Bon Homme Richard*. Orders being sent below to cease firing, the engagement terminated, after a most obstinate contest of three hours and a half.

“Upon receiving Captain Pearson on board the *Bon Homme Richard*, Captain Jones gave orders to cut loose the lashings, and directed me to follow him with the *Serapis*. Perceiving the *Bon Homme Richard* leaving the *Serapis*, I sent one of the quarter-masters to ascertain whether the wheel-ropes were cut away, supposing something extraordinary must be the matter, as the ship would not pay off, although the head sails were aback, and no after sail; the quarter-master returning, reported that the wheel-ropes were all well, and the helm hard a-port. Excited by this extraordinary circumstance, I jumped off the binnacle, where I had been sitting, and falling upon the deck, found to my astonishment I had the use of only one of my legs;

a splinter of one of the guns had struck and badly wounded my leg without my perceiving the injury until this moment. I was replaced upon the binnacle, when the sailing-master of the *Serapis* coming up to me, observed, that from my orders he judged I must be ignorant of the ship *being at anchor*. Noticing the second lieutenant of the *Bon Homme Richard*, I directed him to go below and cut away the cable, and follow the *Bon Homme Richard* with the *Serapis*. I was then carried on board the *Bon Homme Richard* to have my wound dressed."

When the ordinary allowances are made for the causes which induce different representations, as to the incidents and results of a desperate engagement, from the two parties, it is perhaps a little surprising, that the particulars given in the letter addressed by the gallant Pearson to the Admiralty office, vary so immaterially from the other accounts. He states, that he was tacking to keep his ground between the enemy's ships and the convoy, when, about the time mentioned by the American commander, the ship of the latter brought to, on his larboard bow. When asked, what ship she was, he understood the men to answer, "the *Princess Royal*." He does not essentially contradict the subsequent details. He says his ship was on fire ten or twelve times in different places. The *Alliance* being near, he found it impracticable to stand out any longer, with the least hope of success. He had done all that the "bravest of the brave" could do; and well earned the honour of knighthood.* We have already referred, in the previous notes, to his remarks on the conduct of the *Alliance*. If we put the two accounts together, of Pearson and Jones, without adding the testimony of the numerous officers in the squadron, which sinks the scale in

* Mr. Goldsborough chronicles another current apochryphal anecdote, which may or may not be true; but it is at any rate in far better taste than the one referred to in a note some pages back. "When Captain Jones was in Paris, some short time after the action, he was informed that Captain Pearson had been knighted. "Well," said he, "he deserved it; and if I fall in with him again, I will make a lord of him."

which Landais might be weighed, to the very sad, it will unequivocally appear that the latter did more harm to the *Bon Homme Richard*, than to the *Serapis*. But how, as the editor of the *Life of Jones*, published in Edinburgh, has naturally remarked, “could any British officer have learned to imagine the *atrociousness* of a commander pointing his guns in the heat of a close action, not against the enemy, but against his own consort?” We have said the remark was *naturally* made; but perceive by looking further, that the anomalous conduct of Landais is made by this editor a shoeing horn, to pull up sweeping charges against the French marine. This is natural too. Captain Pearson’s account of the distressed and hopeless condition of the *Bon Homme Richard*, is in consonance with all the others. In the copy of his letter published in Sherburne’s Collections, the only one I have, the number of killed and wounded on board of that ship, is stated at 306. It must be a typographical error; as Captain Pearson must have known, within a score or two, the equipage of the vessel, and by this reckoning there would have been not a soul left to take charge of the fragments of the battle.

The official list of the wounded on board the *Serapis*, of whom eight had died when it is dated, September 30th, amounts to 68, besides a few whose names could not be ascertained.* Of the dead there is no official return before me. In the roll of the *Bon Homme Richard*’s equipage, published in Sherburne’s Collections, 42 are returned killed, and 40 wounded.† There are, however, but 228 names on this imperfect document, which is without date or voucher; and in which the master, Mr. Cutting Lunt, is called the third lieutenant, Mr. Stacey, acting master, the master, &c. Captain Pearson says, “our loss in the *Serapis* was very great.” Jones says, in his *Journal for the King*: “By a return of the surgeon of the *Serapis*, they had a hundred men dangerously wounded on board

* Sherburne’s Collections, p. 103.

† *Ib.* p. 140.

that ship in the action. Their loss appears to be that number killed. They having taken on board some East India seamen at Copenhagen, over and above their complement, their crew appears to have been four hundred effective men, when the action began. Captain Jones had but three hundred and eighty, *good and bad*, when he left France. He had manned several prizes, which, with desertions on the coasts of Ireland and Scotland, and the absence of the pilot boat, with two officers and sixteen of his best men, reduced him to three hundred and forty, including the *disaffected*, which were a great majority of the whole, as they were chiefly *British*, who had enlisted from the prisons of France.* It may also be observed, the officers and men placed in the gun-room, sixty in number, did not discharge a second shot, nor otherwise assist, and cannot properly be said to have been in the action. To say nothing of the damage done by the Countess of Scarborough and the Alliance, the enemy was superior in cannon, as 576 is to 390,† besides a greater superiority in men; and had thirteen feet three inches between her guns; whereas, the guns of the Bon Homme Richard were only nine feet six inches asunder.”

It is out of the province, as it is utterly beyond the skill of the compiler, to comment with any science on the conduct of the commanders of the Pallas and Vengeance, during this naval combat. It will appear to the common reader, that Captain Cottineau, whom Jones always speaks of respectfully, did all his duty. Jones certifies, that Captain Ricot of the Vengeance was “a sensible man, and a good officer;” and has himself

* Forty-six seamen are marked as Americans, in the roll published in Sherburne's Collections, and thirty-two among the officers of all descriptions, from the commander to the cook.

† In Sherburne's Collections, the weight of metal which the Bon Homme Richard could throw, is stated at 414 pounds; but this statement is wrong altogether, according to the official inventory in French, copied from that filed by order of Congress. Jones had 6 eighteen-pounders, 28 twelve-pounders, and 6 nine-pounders. Three of the last gained him the battle. His weight of metal was, therefore, 474. That of the Serapis, according to Sherburne, was 600.

corrected the charge of neglect of orders, which he at first threw out against him. If it be thought that "he did his duty, and he did no more," it must be remembered that by random firing he might have done more harm than good; and that the *Serapis* had a broadside in store on the off side, which might have proved fatal to his corvette of 12 guns and sixty-six men. Like the lieutenant in the pilot boat, he may have thought it not prudent, to go too close in the night to two ships, both on fire, and locked in mortal struggle. The *Alliance*, the comet of the scene, might have flung some of its scattering trail at him, as the commander does not seem to have confined his attentions to the *Bon Homme Richard* and *Serapis*. Cupidity could not have been the dominant passion of any of the French captains; or they would have given a better account of the convoy.

But what can be said for *Contre Admiral Pierre Landais*, as he afterwards styled himself? The mind not stolid or brutalized, ever seeks an apology or an explanation for mental eccentricity, when it is unallied to moral turpitude. But if we are to treat Landais as a rational agent, we must charge him, as all who have canvassed the subject have done, either with cowardice, gross ignorance, and stupidity, or malignant and base jealousy. Make every allowance for the tactics and regime of the old *école de la marine*; for the pride of birth, if he was noble; and for professional pride, if he considered himself under the *concordat*, as an ally of Jones, and not bound to obey his orders: still, on one or more of the prongs of this ugly trident, Landais must either be impaled, or sadly bruised. We are compelled to reject the idea, that personal timidity was his misfortune, not only from the nature of his profession, but from various passages in his life.* If we ask for the motives of his conduct on this

* Captain de Cottineau de Kloguene, of the *Pallas*, does, however, certify distinctly to the ninth article of the charges against Landais; which was, that, when on the morning of the day when the action was fought, the *Bon Homme Richard* came in sight of the *Pallas* and *Alliance*, off Flamborough Head, Landais told him, that if it was

occasion, the twenty-third charge against him, attested by the formal declarations of three officers is, that he "acknowledged after the action, that he would have thought it no harm if the *Bon Homme Richard* had struck; for it would have given him an opportunity to retake her, and take the *Serapis*." Other witnesses of competent character bear testimony that he subsequently made the same remark. We shall encumber these pages with no more of the multitudinous accusations and proofs against Landais, growing out of this transaction. Grave narrative must leave his memory under these embarrassments. The amateurs of the moral picturesque, may disport with it after their several conceptions.*

In an account made out by Jones while at the *Texel*, I find an item in which the marine committee of the United States is charged with a hundred ducats, paid to John Jackson, of Hull, as smart money; "besides," the item states, "giving him a certificate, by which he is to receive half pay as Pilot during his life, from the minister plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris, for his gallant behaviour, and the loss of his arm, in the action with the *Serapis*; and for his having proved a faithful pilot on the east coast of England." This man did receive his half pay during life.

Among these memoranda relative to the action with the *Serapis*, it may be well to give a reply in anticipation, to a question which will naturally occur to those who take any interest in an unparalleled sea fight, in which the honour and hopes of their own country and its flag, were in no small degree at hazard. That question is, whether Jones, who wrought as a common sailor, while he acted as a commander in the engagement, who lashed the ships fast together with his own hands, repulsed the boarders, and personally worked the only serviceable guns,

a 50 gun ship, they must *run away*: though he knew that the *Pallas*, from her dull sailing, must be taken.

* See Appendix No. VIII. before referred to.

was wounded in the conflict. It would seem that he must have "borne a charmed life," if in all his daring and seemingly rash exploits, no bullet was marked for him, and if, among crashing timbers, exploding cartridges, and flying ruins, he moved unscathed amidst carnage and destruction. He has been charged, from the tenor of his style, with not making the least of his services, and in fact with boastful egotism, by those who had not examined, or did not pause to consider the meaning phraseology of that day, which to quiet citizens who now feel and know that they are free, sounds as somewhat fantastic. Neither have these censors ever weighed the circumstances of the captain's education, the causes which led him to adopt a parlance then familiar, about the dignity of human nature, &c. and the situation in which he spoke in the first person, as one having authority so to do, when it was in behalf of suffering and complaining seamen, on whose account he was himself out of pocket. All who have been misled by an unenlightened consideration of the style of Jones, should remember, that he never in any of his appeals, whether made with deliberation, or on the spur of the moment, speaks of his personal privations or sufferance. A memorandum made by him in his Journal, that he never had three hours' rest out of the twenty-four, during this cruise, was not inserted in any official document, and never intended for effect. It is known, as I am assured, that he was once severely wounded in the head, and that he underwent great suffering at several times, from violent injuries received in discharging his duty. But, though he carefully preserved the hasty notes of distinguished men, and the *billets doux* of fair correspondents, and loved to dwell upon every mark of distinction which he received from courts or courtiers, he never chronicled his wounds in any letter or journal. The only reference I find to them, is in a fragment of what seems to be the draft of a letter in his own hand writing, to some person, either a member of, or connected with, the French ministry; and to have been written but a short time before his death. It will be quoted in its place. Speaking of his cold reception by

M. De Sartine, after his return from the Texel, he says : “ He did not even ask me if my health had not suffered from my wounds, and the uncommon fatigue I had undergone.” This he merely mentions as a forgetfulness of the ordinary forms of ministerial politeness.

“ CAPTAIN Jones,” we follow his journal, “ took command of the *Serapis*, and erected jury-masts. After tossing about to and fro in the North Sea, for ten days, in contrary winds and bad weather, in order to gain the port of Dunkirk, on account of the prisoners, the captains under his command, after some cabal, bore away for the Texel, and left him to windward, with the choice to follow or proceed. [Captain Jones never had three hours sleep in the twenty-four, in the whole campaign, from L’Orient to the Texel.] The squadron anchored off the Texel the 3d of October, 1779 ; and they persisted in working into the port, though the wind was fair for Dunkirk the next morning.”

This naval “ campaign” as its hero styles it, of course made echoes that were heard to a mighty distance. The fire he had kindled in the British ocean flung its terrific radiance far over the world of waters, and was beheld from distant shores. Britain was incensed at finding this celebrated American, with his audacious prow, a second time carrying dismay into her harbours ; and at the loss, in a fairly fought battle, of one of her finest frigates. France and her allies could not but be delighted. The journals of the day teemed with varying accounts of his exploits.*

* Several of these cotemporary accounts have been frequently republished. It seems unnecessary to quote many of them.

Extract of a letter from Stockholm, September 21.

“ Expresses arrived on Saturday, from Sunderland, stating that Paul Jones had taken sixteen sail more of colliers. In consequence of the capture of so many colliers, and the interruption of the trade, the price of coals will be enormous. Instead of having the dominion of the sea, it is now evident that we are not able to defend our own coast from depredations.

Though the peevishness of Landais had prevented him from fairly trying any of the schemes he had meditated, and which were compatible with each other, had time been allowed, and discipline and secrecy preserved—of intercepting the homeward bound East India ships, the West India or Hudson's Bay ships, or the Baltic fleet—he had struck another blow, valuable for its effect in giving confidence to those who were arming or forming systems of armed neutrality against the dictatress of the ocean. The information he was enabled from resources and facilities peculiar to himself, to give to the ministers and the commanders of the allied squadron, was of the highest value, and anticipated often all their other advices. Had their action been in a moderate degree commensurate with his conception, the commerce of England would long have had cause to rue the ac-

"The master of a sloop from Harwich, who arrived yesterday, saw on Saturday last, no less than eleven sail of men of war going in search of Paul Jones, and among them was the Edgar of 74 guns.

"By the examination of the four men belonging to one of Paul Jones' squadron, it appears that Jones' orders were not to burn any houses or towns. What an example of honour and greatness does America thus show to us! While our troops are running about from town to town on their coast, burning every thing with a wanton, wicked barbarity, Dr. Franklin gives no orders to retaliate; he is above it: and there was a time when an English minister was above it; when an English minister would have disdained to make war in so villanous a mode. It is a disgrace to the nation. Paul Jones could have burnt Leith the other day with the greatest ease, and another little town near it."

From the London Chronicle, October 17th, 1779.

"Amsterdam, October, 7th.—Last Tuesday, Paul Jones, with the prizes, the Serapis and Scarborough, entered the Texel, and this day he appeared on the Exchange, where business gave way to curiosity. The crowd pressing upon him, by whom he was styled the terror of the English, he withdrew to a room fronting a public square, where Monsieur Donneville the French agent, and the Americans, paid him such a volley of compliments, and such homage as he could only answer with a bow; he was dressed in the American uniform, with a Scotch bonnet edged with gold, is of a middling stature, stern countenance, and swarthy complexion. It was supposed he was going to Paris to receive the congratulations of the Grand Monarque, and Dr. Franklin; but I am now informed, he is gone to the Hague, to solicit by the French ambassador, the repair of his shipping, which if he should succeed in, he will probably elude the vigilance of a 74 gun ship waiting before the Texel."

cession of so shrewd and practical a colleague to the counsels of her enemies.

In the blaze of his renown, and with the spoil of his victory, he was a second time to contend with a series of difficulties, more intricate than the court intrigues which had before exhausted his patience; but not, fortunately, so protracted. Before he was to leave the port, he entered in triumph. This he effected, with all his honour saved, gained additional fame by his perfect seamanship, and was directly and materially instrumental in producing an open rupture between England and Holland. It is not doubted that this contingency was contemplated, when he had orders to make the Texel his port of destination.

By the portions of Franklin's correspondence with Jones, which have been extracted, the reader will have understood the difficulties which prevented any vessels or naval stores intended for the service of the United States from being openly taken out of the ports of Holland, a nominally neutral power, which had not yet recognised the independence of the abjuring Colonies, and was bound to England by ancient treaties. Both the letter and the spirit of these had indeed been violated; and so far as that of 1678, which bound their high mightinesses to break with any aggressor against their ally, it had been treated as obsolete. And they were preparing to accede to the system of an armed neutrality, proposed by Russia, though the treaty was not signed until the middle of the following year. The merchants of Amsterdam, and the Grand Pensionary were earnestly desirous of the success of the American arms. Secret negotiations had been pending, and the form of a treaty of amity and commerce was found among the papers of Mr. Laurens, thrown overboard by him previous to his capture, but recovered, which led the government of Britain to give immediate attention to all that was passing in the ports of Holland, and to give particular instructions to their minister, Sir Joseph Yorke, who faithfully executed them. It is necessary to refer to these well known matters of history, in connecting this biography.

M. de la Sartine addressed Franklin on the 5th September, in relation to the scheme of bringing out the *Indien* and other ships, designated as Dutch and neutral, which were at the king's charge, and sundry munitions of war, which the minister styles, "*très intéressantes*," from the ports of Holland into those of France. He had given orders, he said, that they should be in readiness by the expiration of the month, when the limitation of Jones' cruise would expire; in order that he might attend to them, under the instructions of the American ambassador. A copy of this letter awaited Jones on his arrival in the Texel road, with a request from Franklin, that "he would do his utmost to render the service therein mentioned effectual; which would, in the then pending instance, be very advantageous to the common cause, and very acceptable to his majesty." "It would be well for him," it was added, "to keep his intention of conveying those vessels as secret as possible, lest notice of it should be sent to England, and ships placed to intercept him." Jones has made a memorandum on this passage, which has been already referred to; "I found our object in the public papers, when I arrived in Holland; and Sir Joseph Yorke had sent off an express to England, informing also that part of my business here would be to take out the *Indien*. I was then under the necessity, to represent the want of secrecy of M. Chaumont to court, and to complain of his conduct towards me in the affair of the *Concordat*."

As the eyes of the English ministry were fixed upon Holland, and there was no lack of agents to give them information, that of M. Chaumont would seem, at the present day, to have been gratuitous. Nor was there any want of ships to intercept Jones. The battle with the *Serapis* had not been fought in a corner. The mind, through the whole scale of intellect, from the highest to the meanest, and from the hero to the hireling, is subject to the same "like passions." A steam pipe for the escape of surplus vexation is not always philosophically selected; and if Jones occasionally ascribed a change in the wind, a timid and deceitful course of policy, or the presence of some seventy-fours,

to the unhappy "*concordat*," it was but the common error of humanity, when tried as his nature was.

Immediately on arriving in the Texel road, on the 3d of October, he addressed an account of his cruise to the American ambassador, copies of which were sent to the President of Congress, and to the French minister. The body of this despatch has already been inserted. The conclusion was as follows :

"I am in the highest degree sensible of the singular attentions which I have experienced from the court of France, which I shall remember with perfect gratitude until the end of my life, and will always endeavour to merit, while I can, consistent with my honour, continue in the public service. I must speak plainly : as I have been always honoured with the full confidence of Congress, and as I also flattered myself with enjoying in some measure the confidence of the court of France, I could not but be astonished at the conduct of Monsieur de Chaumont, when, in the moment of my departure from Groix, he produced a paper, a *concordat*, for me to sign, in common with the officers whom I had commissioned but a few days before. Had that paper, or even a less dishonourable one, been proposed to me at the beginning, I would have rejected it with just contempt, and the word *deplacement*, among others, should have been necessary. I cannot, however, even now suppose that he was authorised by the court to make such a bargain with me. Nor can I suppose that the minister of the marine meant that M. de Chaumont should consider me merely as a colleague with the commanders of the other ships, and communicate to them not only all he knew, but all he thought respecting our destination and operations. M. de Chaumont has made me various reproaches on account of the expense of the *Bon Homme Richard*, wherewith I cannot think I have been justly chargeable. M. de Chamillard can attest, that the *Bon Homme Richard* was at last far from being well fitted or armed for war. If any person or persons, who have been charged with the expense of that armament have acted wrong, the fault must not be laid to my charge. I had no authority to superintend that armament, and the per-

sons who had authority, were so far from giving me what I thought necessary, that M. de Chaumont even refused, among other things, to allow me irons to secure the prisoners of war.

“In short, while my life remains, if I have any capacity to render good and acceptable services to the common cause, no man will step forth with greater cheerfulness and alacrity than myself; but I am not made to be dishonoured, nor can I accept of the *half confidence* of any man living. Of course I cannot, consistent with my honour, and a prospect of success, undertake future expeditions, unless when the object and destination is communicated to me alone, and to no other person in the marine line. In cases where troops are embarked, a like confidence is due alone to their commander in chief. On no other condition will I ever undertake the chief command of a private expedition; and when I do not command in chief, I have no desire to be in the secret.

“Upon the whole, the captain of the Alliance has behaved so very ill in every respect, that I must complain loudly of his conduct. He pretends that he is authorised to act independent of my command; I have been taught the contrary; but supposing it to be so, his conduct has been base and unpardonable. M. de Chamillard will explain the particulars. Either Captain Landais or myself is highly criminal, and one or the other must be punished. I forbear to take any steps with him until I have the advice and approbation of your excellency. I have been advised by all the officers of the squadron to put M. Landais under arrest; but as I have postponed it so long, I will bear with him a little longer, until the return of my express.

“We this day anchored here, having since the action been tossed to and fro by contrary winds. I wished to have gained the road of Dunkirk on account of our prisoners, but was overruled by the majority of *my colleagues*. I shall hasten up to Amsterdam, and there, if I meet with no orders for my government, I will take the advice of the French ambassador. It is my present intention to have the Countess of Scarborough ready to transport the prisoners from hence to Dunkirk, unless it

should be found more expedient to deliver them to the English ambassador, taking his obligation to send to Dunkirk, &c. immediately an equal number of American prisoners. I am under strong apprehensions that our object here will fail, and that through the imprudence of M. de Chaumont, who has communicated every thing he knew or thought on the matter, to persons who cannot help talking of it at a full table. This is the way he keeps state secrets, though he never mentioned the affair to me."

Hitherto, deeming it unwise to break with M. Chaumont, and feeling that personal regard, which supposed grounds for complaint against its object had not overcome, Jones had not directly intimated to him the charges of moral weakness, which he had made in his letters of a confidential character. The communication of those charges was now inevitable; and in the following letter, written on the same day on which the account of the cruise is dated, it will be seen that, acting on his impression that his correspondent's mind was not well balanced, he expressed himself with a happy mixture of frankness and dexterity.

*" On board the Ship of War the Serapis, at anchor
without the Texel, October 3, 1779.*

"M. LE RAY DE CHAUMONT, à Passy.

"The original of the enclosed copy of my last letter, written on board the *Bon Homme Richard*, off the S. W. coast of Ireland, the 24th of August, as well as the papers which preceded it, and to which it alludes, I hope duly reached the hands of my friend M. de Chaumont, and explained to his satisfaction my conduct from the time I left Groix until that date. For the full history of my expedition, I must beg leave to refer you to a letter of this date, which accompanies this, to his excellency Dr. Franklin, who will, if you demand it, furnish you with a copy.

"I wish to act a candid part towards all men, and therefore wish you to have a copy of that letter, that you may see my sentiments respecting the 'concordat,' which you imposed upon me in the moment of my departure from Groix. What could have inspired you with such sentiments of distrust towards me,

after the ocular proofs of hospitality which I so long experienced in your house, and after the warm expressions of generous and unbounded friendship, which I had constantly been honoured with in your letters, exceeds my mental faculties to comprehend. I am, however, yet willing to give you an opportunity of rendering justice to my character. I cannot think you are personally my enemy. I rather imagine that your conduct towards me at L'Orient, has arisen from the base misrepresentation of some secret villainy; therefore, I am, with unaltered sentiments of good will and affection for yourself and family,

“ My dear friend,
“ Your obliged, humble servant.”

The most offensive provision of the concordat was, it may be presumed, that which gave the commanders the right to succeed in order, in case of death or retreat. Without this privilege, it is not probable that they would have agreed to sail on the projected cruise. But the independence which it made them feel, no doubt gave rise to the want of subordination, which Jones had so much reason to complain of. Without taking this into consideration, the reader may be at a loss to account for the strong language employed in the foregoing extract, and whenever the concordat is adverted to by the commander of the squadron.

On the 5th, Jones addressed the Duke de la Vauguyon, ambassador of France at the Hague. The return of his prisoners was not completed, but he rated it at three hundred and fifty, of whom one hundred and thirty were wounded. The total number, however, exceeded five hundred. He asked the advice of the ambassador, as to what measures he should adopt in relation to them; and whether it would be advisable to set them free at the Texel, on such security as might be obtained for the liberation of an equal number of Americans in England, or to send them to Dunkirk in the Countess of Scarborough, which was not fit for service, and the Vengeance, which might return with as many recruits as could be obtained. He also

stated his inability to comply with the instructions received from Franklin, through M. Dumas, without great and instant assistance. Though the hull of the *Serapis* was not too much damaged to be easily repaired, she wanted entirely new masts and rigging, sails, boats, and provisions.

M. Dumas, the then unrecognised agent for the U. S. was enthusiastic in his diplomacy, and this was a misfortune. It is impossible to read his letters, without coinciding in opinion with those who have commented on the events of this period, that there was more affectation than ingenuity in the mystery he assumed; and more ardour than utility in his impulses and movements. He was, however, a true friend of freedom and of America. A letter which he wrote to Jones on the 9th, is an amusing specimen of unnecessary mysticism. By taking the risk of aping *Cedipus*, one might learn from it that Jones had been at the Hague, where he had an interview with "the great man," meaning the French ambassador. We learn from his Journal, that Jones was sent for by this gentleman, who agreed with him in thinking it would be most expedient to send the prisoners to Dunkirk as soon as it could possibly be done. But, before making the attempt, it was agreed to remast the *Serapis*, as they were already apprised that small squadrons had been detached by the English government, to intercept Jones, on the east coast of England and Scotland, the coast of Norway, in the Irish channel, on the west of Ireland, and in the straits of Dover. M. Dumas, says in his official despatches to the committee of foreign affairs, that Jones arrived at the Hague on the 8th, with a single domestic, and remained only until the next day, when he took post for Amsterdam. It appears from the beginning of the mysterious letter referred to above, that the commodore missed the post, or mail wagon, which "half-distracted" M. Dumas when he heard of it; but he was "restored to his senses" by a coachman, who told him that Jones had overtaken it at the distance of eight or nine miles from the Hague. M. Dumas talks also of "a man in high station in the country," meaning, it is to be supposed, Mr. Van Berckel, the

Grand Pensionary of Amsterdam, before whom he had laid certain matters at which he hints in idle riddles. The "man in high station" recommended expedition in preparing for whatever was to be done, and informed M. Dumas, that there was a law, limiting the period during which foreign ships of war were allowed to wait for repairs in that port, when the wind permitted them to go out. M. Dumas enclosed his own instructions, signed by M. Chaumont, and approved by Franklin. These were, to recommend the greatest circumspection to all the commanders of the squadron under the American flag, in their behaviour while in Holland, and to give the earliest advice of its arrival, in order that such supplies might be immediately forwarded as should be necessary, "without giving cause for any question being agitated, which might embarrass the Dutch in the conduct they thought it for their interest to observe towards England."

On the 9th, Sir Joseph Yorke sent his official communication to their high mightinesses, in relation to the presence of the squadron. As it is brief, we insert it.

"HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS,

"The undersigned, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the king of Great Britain, has the honour to communicate to your high mightinesses, that two of his majesty's ships, the *Serapis* and the *Countess of Scarborough*, arrived some days ago in the *Texel*, having been attacked and taken by force, by a certain Paul Jones, a subject of the king, who according to treaties and the laws of war, can only be considered as a rebel and a pirate. The undersigned is therefore in duty bound to recur to your high mightinesses and demand their immediate orders that those ships with their officers and crews may be stopped, and he especially recommends to your humanity, to permit the wounded to be brought on shore, that proper attention may be paid to them, at the expense of the king his master.

"YORKE."

When writing to Dr. Franklin, on the 11th, Jones was not apprised of this memorial having been presented. He stated, that he was doing all in his power to act upon the advice given by the French ambassador. He also expressed his determination to keep the captain of the *Serapis* in his hands, as a hostage, until Captain Cunningham, who was a prisoner in England, should be released. He said, "I wish heartily that poor Cunningham, (whom I am taught to regard as a continental officer,) was exchanged; as with his assistance I could form a court martial, which I believe you will see unavoidable."* Of Captain Landais, he says: "he has come up here, and purposes, after gadding about in this city, to figure away at the Hague. He continues to affect an entire independence of my control, and has given in here an extraordinary demand for supplies of every kind. This famous demand, however, I have ventured to disapprove, and reduced to, I believe, a fourth part of its first extent. I hope to account to your satisfaction for my reasons; among which is his having been so plentifully and so lately furnished."

This valiant and "scattering" hero, was, according to several accounts besides this, making a famous report of his own exploits. The terms of this extract show the manner in which Jones felt disposed to treat him; which was, with contempt, not so openly expressed as to injure the service. He thought him of too little consequence to put him under arrest, at the risk of giving rise to dissatisfaction among the French. This command of his temper, however, was such as less irritable discipli-

* I find no mention made in what are called the Naval Chronicles of the United States, of a commission having been given to Captain Cunningham in the navy. According to Goldsborough, page 31, he received a commission for a privateer from Franklin and Deane. His cruise in the British channel made his name terrible in the mouths of the vulgar. When he was captured in 1778, and detained in the harbour of New York, he was treated with such severity, that Congress twice passed resolutions, threatening retaliation. A burlesque representation of him was exhibited in London. So says the authority cited. He was at this time detained in England.

narians might not have shown, even though good policy required it; and his coolness and constant attention to the necessary business of refitting his squadron and disposing of the prisoners, during all the pending consultations in which he was so deeply interested, have been deservedly commented on as proving his capacity for the conduct of political movements of importance. A very excellent man, the Baron Vander Capellen, who was, as he styles himself, "an old and tried friend of America," and a member of the house of nobles of the province of Overijssel, wrote to Jones at this time, apparently instigated by the conversation to which the valorous stories of M. Landais gave birth, asking as a favour, an account of the particulars "relating to a sea fight, rather to be found in the books of the former century, than in our present age, on the ocean."

Jones wrote to the baron a respectful and discrete reply, enclosing a copy of his account of the cruise, with other documents relative to his adventures. M. Dumas begged him not send the former, in its whole extent, as it would be improper for M. de Capelle, as he chose to designate that gentleman, to be acquainted with the complaints against M. de Chaumont. He also informed Jones, that the baron, though a "very good republican," and a "well thinking private," knew nothing of the secret of his negociations with the "two great men," and was "excluded from any share of government in his country." The letter of Jones, to M. Vander Capellen contained the following passage:

"I was, indeed, born in Britain; but I do not inherit the degenerate spirit of that fallen nation, which I at once lament and despise. It is far beneath me to reply to their hireling invectives. They are strangers to the inward approbation that greatly animates and rewards the man who draws his sword only in support of the dignity of freedom. America has been the country of my fond election, from the age of thirteen, when I first saw it. I had the honour to hoist with my own hands the flag of freedom, the first time it was displayed on the river Delaware; and I have attended it with veneration ever

since on the ocean. I see it respected even here, in spite of the pitiful Sir Joseph; and I ardently wish and hope very soon to exchange a salute with the flag of this republic. Let but the two republics join hands, and they will give peace to the world."

It would, indeed, have been singular, if the burghers of Old Amsterdam had not felt sympathy for the fortunes of a people, some of whose most prosperous settlements had been made by their own ancestors; in which, though wrested from their sway, so much of their good habits was still preserved, and above all their pure and uncorrupted religion. Old and sacred associations, commercial interests, and a like political feeling, made a strong party there, naturally attached to the cause of American independence.

The letter from Franklin, dated on the 15th October, in reply to the despatches of Jones, dated the 3d, was as follows: and must have been so gratifying to him who received it, that it needs no commentary; but every line, including the postscript, is worthy of attention.

"I received the account of your cruise and engagement with the *Serapis*, which you did me the honour to send me from the *Texel*. I have since received your favour of the 8th, from Amsterdam. For some days after the arrival of your express, scarce any thing was talked of at Paris and Versailles, but your cool conduct, and persevering bravery during that terrible conflict. You may believe, that the impression on my mind was not less strong than that of others; but I do not choose to say in a letter to yourself all I think on such an occasion.

"The ministry are much dissatisfied with Captain Landais, and Monsieur de Sartine has signified to me in writing that it is expected that I should send for him to Paris, and call him to account for his conduct, particularly for deferring so long his coming to your assistance; by which means, it is supposed, the States lost some of their valuable citizens, and the king lost man / of his subjects, volunteers in your ship, together with the ship itself.

"I have, accordingly, written to him this day, acquainting him, that he is charged with disobedience of orders in the cruise, and neglect of his duty in the engagement ; that a court martial being at this time inconvenient, if not impracticable, I would give him an earlier opportunity of offering what he has to say in his justification, and for that purpose direct him to render himself immediately here, bringing with him such papers or testimonies as he may think useful in his defence. I know not whether he will obey my orders, nor what the ministry would do with him if he comes ; but I suspect that they may, by some of their concise operations, save the trouble of a court martial. It will, however, be well for you to furnish me with what you may judge proper to support the charges against him, that I may be able to give a just and clear account to Congress. In the mean time it will be necessary, if he should refuse to come, that you should put him under an arrest ; and in that case, as well as if he comes, that you should either appoint some person to the command, or take it upon yourself ; for I know of no person to recommend to you as fit for that station.

"I am uneasy about your prisoners, (504 in number,) I wish they were safe in France. You will then have completed the glorious work of giving liberty to all the Americans that have so long languished for it in the British prisons ; for there are not so many there, as you have now taken.

"I have the pleasure to inform you that the two prizes sent to Norway, are safely arrived at Bergen.

"With the highest esteem, I am, &c.

"B. FRANKLIN.

"P. S. I am sorry for your misunderstanding with M. de C. who has a great regard for you."

From the contents of a note from Captain Pearson to Jones, written on the 19th of this month, it is to be inferred, that the former was not apprised of the application made by Sir Joseph Yorke to their high mightinesses ; or, at least, of its terms and tenor. He charged Jones very plainly with a breach of the

civility due to his rank, as well as his behaviour on all occasions, and expressed his opinion, that the detention of himself and his people on board ship for so long a time, was an unprecedented thing. Jones informed him, that the memorial of Sir Joseph, of which he enclosed him a copy, had induced him to think it fruitless to pursue negotiations for the exchange of prisoners; but that humanity had made him seek for permission to land the dangerously wounded. The consent of the government had been obtained, but the local magistrates still raised objections. His reply was couched in terms of moderation, highly commendable, if we consider the epithets which the English ambassador had applied to him, and the bold, blunt style of Pearson's note.

"I wished," he said, "to avoid any painful altercation with you on that subject; I was persuaded that you had been in the highest degree sensible, that my behaviour 'towards you had been far from a breach of civility.' This charge is not, sir, a civil return for the polite hospitality and disinterested attentions, which you have hitherto experienced. I know not what difference of respect is due to 'rank,' between your service and ours; I suppose, however, the difference must be thought *very great* in England; since I am informed that Captain Cunningham, of equal denomination, and who bears a senior rank in the service of America, than yours in the service of England, is now confined at Plymouth, *in a dungeon, and in fetters.*"*

He concluded by beseeching Pearson to interfere in behalf of this officer, as he expected orders from Dr. Franklin, in consequence of the treatment he was receiving.

The resolution of their high mightinesses upon the application of the English ambassador, was delivered to him on the 25th.

* As has been before remarked, the name of Captain Cunningham is not to be found in any of the lists of officers commissioned by Congress, before this period, which are contained in Sherburne or the Naval Chronicles. Jones in a letter to Franklin, which has been quoted, speaks of "being taught to regard him as a continental officer," seeming to imply that he was not such absolutely. I am unable to account for this, in connexion with the above assertion of his rank.

It was prudently worded, setting forth that for a century, the States General had strictly observed it as a maxim, never to pretend to judge of the legality or illegality of captures of vessels brought into the ports of the republic, not belonging to it; that they only opened their ports to give shelter, to those making such captures, from storms or disasters, and obliged them to put to sea again without unloading; that they were not authorised to pass judgment upon either the prizes or the person of Paul Jones; and that they had already evinced their willingness to discharge the offices of humanity, by the orders they had given in relation to the wounded prisoners. This resolution was an echo and confirmation of one passed by the nobles and burgesses of the province of Holland, four days previous, as appears by the endorsement of M. Dumas, who said, in his official letter to the committee of foreign affairs, that the latter might truly be called *vox populi*.*

* The ordinance of the States General referred to in their reply, had been passed and published as a placard, by the cautious republic in November, 1756. On the 8th of October, five days after Jones' arrival at the Texel, the Admiralty college of Amsterdam informed their high mightinesses, that Captain Rimersina the commandant, during the absence of Vice Admiral Reynst in the Texel road, had announced to them the entrance of five vessels under the command of Paul Jones, who had asked permission of him to land the English captains, and to hire a house for the reception of the wounded; that they had replied, that neither request could be granted by them, and had referred to the terms of the placard.

On the same 8th, the high mightinesses requested the opinion of the college of Admiralty, on the memorial of Sir Joseph Yorke, to which, (recapitulating their former communication, that they considered the ordinance of 1756 as plain and imperative, but not inconsistent with the dictates of humanity, which would be to permit the ships to make actually necessary repairs, and allow the sick and wounded attendance,) they replied that they would already have given orders to this effect, if they had considered themselves authorised so to do, but submitted to their high mightinesses that it was expedient. This communication was made on the 12th, and referred for consideration to the deputies for marine affairs.

Sir Joseph Yorke from his long residence at the Hague, had obtained great influence over the Prince of Orange and what might be called the court party, as those opposed to English dictation were termed the French party. He was rewarded afterwards with a peerage for his services as a minister. He was far from being satisfied with the negative protection yielded by the States General to "the pirate Paul Jones," as he again called him in a memorial presented on the 29th. In this communication, after thanking their high mightinesses for their orders in relation to the wounded, he added: "I cannot but comply with the strict orders of his majesty, by renewing in the strongest and most pressing manner his request, that these ships and their crews may be stopped and delivered up, which the pirate Paul Jones, of Scotland, who is a rebel subject and a criminal of the state, has taken.

"The king would think he derogated from his own dignity, as well as that of your high mightinesses, were he to enter into the particulars of a case so notorious as that in question, or to

A resolution was passed by the States General on the 15th, expressed to be in consequence of the representation of the president of the assembly, on the information of Sir Joseph Yorke, by which, without prejudice to the ulterior deliberations of their high mightinesses on his memorial, the college of Admiralty of Amsterdam was authorised to permit the sick and wounded to be removed on shore, or to a hospital ship, and to furnish needful medical attendance. A very cautious proviso was added, that no change should be considered to have taken place in the relations of the parties, in consequence of this arrangement; that the States General would be responsible for no escapes; and that not more than three or four men, not sick or wounded, should be permitted to land from the ships, armed only with swords; and that nothing should be done in the premises, without the knowledge and approbation of the officer commanding the vessels of the republic lying in the road, and the local authorities of the place where the wounded might be disembarked. On the 21st, the assembly of Holland and Westfrize passed the resolution referred to in the text.

set before the eyes of the ancient friends and allies of his crown, analogous examples of other princes and states; but will only remark, that all the placards even of your high mightinesses require that all the captains of foreign armed vessels shall, upon their arrival, present their letters of marque or commission; and authorise, according to the custom of admiralties, to treat all those as pirates whose letters are found to be illegal, *for want of being granted by a sovereign power.*

“The quality of Paul Jones, and all the circumstances of the affair, are too notorious for your high mightinesses to be ignorant of them. The eyes of all Europe are fixed upon your resolution; your high mightinesses know too well the value of good faith not to give an example of it in this essential rencontre. The smallest deviation from so sacred a rule, by weakening the principle of neighbours, may produce serious consequences.”

The logic of Sir Joseph was good. Jones had no other commission than that of America to produce. The States, however, replied as before, that they would not pass judgment on the legality of the captures, and would act under the terms of their placard. In pursuance of their resolution, and of an order from the Prince of Orange, Jones prepared to remove the wounded to the fort on the Texel; having permission to place sentinels to guard them, to raise the drawbridge at his pleasure, and remove his prisoners if he saw fit. On the 31st,* an agreement was entered into between Jones and Pearson, agreeably to these arrangements.

On behalf of his government, Captain Pearson agreed that all British prisoners so landed should be considered prisoners of war until exchanged; and in case any of them should desert, he engaged that an equal number of American prisoners should be released in England, and sent to France by the next

* There is a mistake in the date of this agreement in the copies made by order of Congress, in which it appears as executed on the 3d.

cartel. In cases of death, Jones stipulated not to claim an exchange.

In this agreement Jones took care that there should be no formal reservations. It is expressed to be between himself, "captain in the American navy, commander of the continental squadron now in the road of the Texel, and Richard Pearson, Esq. captain in the British navy, late commodore of the British Baltic fleet, and now a prisoner of war to the United States of North America." On the 1st November, he gave his formal orders to Lieutenant Colonel Weibert, appointing him governor general over the wounded, and the soldiers who were to conduct them on shore, and directing him to take care that no cause of complaint should be given to the Dutch government or its subjects.

The matter and manner of Jones' remarks in relation to M. de Chaumont, were such, that the latter could neither forget them nor treat them with no attention, while they remained unretracted. They estranged him from the commodore, except so far as official transactions rendered intercourse necessary. In writing, however, on the 11th, he does not appear to have seen a copy of the whole communication to Franklin, or to have been aware of its import; as it is spoken of by Jones as a "very affectionate letter." In his reply, dated on the 24th, he returned his thanks for the "many compliments and generous praises bestowed on his past conduct;" and said they afforded him the truest pleasure, as a proof that he still enjoyed a share of M. Chaumont's affection. There is no other allusion to the grounds of complaint than what is contained in the conclusion of the letter, which was in these terms:

"It shall be my pride to acknowledge every where how much I owe to the attentions of France, and to the personal friendship of M. de Chaumont, for furnishing me with the means of giving liberty to all the American prisoners now in Europe: for that is the greatest triumph which a good man can boast, and is therefore a thousand times more flattering to me than victory.

"I ardently wish for future opportunities to render real services to our common cause; which is the only way I can hope to

prove my gratitude to France, to America, and to my much loved friend M. de Chaumont, and his amiable family, with whom I sincerely desire to live henceforth in the fullest confidence and affection. In the fullness of my heart, I am with the highest respect, my dear Chaumont, your truly obliged friend, &c."

This letter, it is to be presumed, is the same referred to in the following extract from one to Dr. Bancroft, dated on the 26th, in which discretion was given to him as to its delivery.

"M. de Chaumont has written me a very affectionate letter; but then he had written me many equally affectionate letters even from the first of our acquaintance, offering me always the most disinterested services, until that of the 14th of June, whereof I enclose a copy. He has not yet offered me an apology respecting the dishonourable '*concordat*' which he afterward imposed upon me at Groix. I love him, however, notwithstanding; and as his excellency tells me that M. de Chaumont has still 'a great regard for me,' that assurance revives all my former friendship, and will confirm it, if you think the answer which I have here enclosed is proper, and that the delivery of it will put a final end on his part to our misunderstanding. At any rate I pray you to present my warmest respects to the whole family, for whom I shall ever retain a grateful affection.

"I am happy my dear sir, in being able to assure you that in spite of Sir Joseph, the flag of freedom is highly respected indeed at the Texel. I had yesterday the honour to receive authority, by a unanimous resolution of the States, and by an order of *the Prince of Orange*, to land as many prisoners as I please, to place sentinels to guard them in the fort on the Texel, to haul up the drawbridge of that fort, and to take them away again from thence whenever I think proper, and dispose of them afterward as though they had never been landed.—Huzza, America!"

It would be doing injustice to the subject, to omit the two following letters to the son and wife of M. de Chaumont.

written at the same time, with which the correspondence terminated.

" On board the Serapis, at the Texel, Oct. 26, 1779.

" M. LE RAY DE CHAUMONT, Jun.

" You will pardon, my dear friend, my not having written to you earlier since my arrival here; my silence has not, I assure you, been the effect of the little misunderstanding which unhappily took place between your father and myself when he imposed upon me a '*concordat*' at Groix, which I thought and think still, I dishonoured my hand by signing. The ticklish and uncertain situation of the politics of this country, as affecting the flag of America, has hitherto so much occupied my attention, that I have found little leisure to write. My fears in that respect being now entirely removed by a unanimous resolution of the States General that is far more favourable to our cause than I had reason to expect, I employ this breathing space with great pleasure to assure you that my regard and affection for all the family of De Chaumont is far from diminished: I earnestly wish your father to give to oblivion the past misintelligence. I am persuaded that he will now see the impropriety of communicating *too early* the intended enterprises and operations of a partisan, and no longer blame me for avoiding free conversations on such subjects. It is not indeed my characteristic to be free of words. My heart, however, is no stranger to the sentiments and duties of friendship, though my situation as a servant of the public leaves me without the power of obliging my private friends, except in the pleasure which I am persuaded they take in hearing of my success, when they have furnished me with the means.

" It affords me pleasure to assure you, that I cannot too much praise the gallant behaviour of the young volunteer Baptiste Travallier, whom you sent to L'Orient; in the engagement a sailor called for a wad in loading one of the great guns; he furnished him immediately by substituting the coat which he then wore, and soon afterward, when the Bon Homme Richard was

on fire, he instantly took off his shirt, and dipped it in water and applied it with great dexterity to smother the flames.

“Present my best respects to Madame de Chaumont and to your sisters. I beseech them and you to love me, and that your father will forgive my past fault, which was the effect only of my believing that he had less confidence in me than he had taught me to expect, and had always said I had merited.”

“October, 28, 1779.

“TO MADAM LE RAY DE CHAUMONT,

“I can no longer, my dear madam, refrain from writing to you, although I have not been honoured with a line from you since my letter from L'Orient, dated 13th June.

“I congratulate you on my late success, because I know it affords you pleasure; and knowing this, is, I assure you, a very singular addition to my satisfaction. What has given me more pain, however, than words can express, has been a *want of confidence* on the part of M. de Chaumont after he had honoured me with strong proof of his friendship and good opinion. The ‘concordat,’ which to my great surprise, he imposed upon me in the moment of my departure from L'Orient, was the most humiliating paper that ever a friend forced upon the commander of a squadron; and even my success has not wiped off the dishonour of my having signed it.

“I am willing to believe that my friend did not see the concordat in the same light, and that the idea was not originally his own, but only by him adopted from the misrepresentations of persons who were constantly buzzing in his ear, and showing an infinity of theory which they have not since been quite so happy in reducing to practice. I say, as I verily believe, that the idea was not originally his own; and as I love him still with undiminished and grateful affection, I earnestly wish him to forgive the complaints which I have made, and to continue towards me his first warmth of friendship and confidence.

“My departure from hence is extremely uncertain, my destination, too, is better known to Dr. Franklin than myself at

present. Our ships are now in a severe storm. I mention this only to show that I can, in no situation, forget how much I owe to the polite attentions and friendship of the amiable family at Passy, which I beseech you to believe I shall ever remember with sentiments of the most lively esteem and affection, being very truly, your obliged friend, &c."

M. Chaumont was not conciliated by these letters, as indeed, if he felt himself unjustly charged with indiscreet and injurious revelation of state secrets, it could not have been expected he ever would be. He was, moreover, of a temperament not free from irascibility; and was labouring under the pressure of advances made by him to support the armies of France in America. The difficulty of obtaining reimbursements for these advances, led subsequently to a widening of the breach between him and Jones, by occasioning a detention of prize money. They had no personal interviews of a friendly character, in which mutual explanations might have been made.

On the 28th of October, Jones wrote to La Fayette, apparently in good spirits. The following is an extract:

"I am very much concerned and ashamed to understand that my 'numbers' that you received from L'Orient, were so ill composed. It is a proof that their ladyships, the Muses, however condescending they may be on the banks of the Helicon, will not dispense their favours to the sons of Neptune, especially while they are

By bounding billows and rude winds that blow,
Alternate toss'd in air, or sunk to sands below.

"In truth, my dear General, I am *almost* as sorry that you have not been able to understand my meaning as if I had been addressing myself to—a fair lady! The enclosed key will, however, I hope unlock the past difficulty, and enable you fully to see what I so much wish you to understand.

"I will send you very soon, a little work that shall be better finished than that from L'Orient; and in the mean time a machine, to which the present key is adapted, is forwarded

through the hands of Dr. Bancroft, in case you should have spoiled or thrown away the one formerly sent.

“The late brutalities of the Britons in America, fill me with horror and indignation. They forget that they are men; and I believe that nothing will bring them to their senses but the most exemplary retaliation. Landais is ordered to Paris to answer for his past conduct.

“I wish to answer very particularly the three points which you have propounded. 1st, I never meant to ask a reward for my services, either from France or America; consequently the approbation of the court and of Congress is all the gratification I can wish for. 2dly, I yet intend to undertake whatever the utmost exertion of my abilities will reach in support of the common cause, as far as any force that may in future be intrusted to my direction may enable me to succeed; I hope, however, my future force will be better composed than when I sailed from L'Orient. I must sail from the Texel in course of next month, because ships cannot afterward remain here in this road. My destination or route from hence I yet know not; but I need not tell you that I wish to see your face! 3dly, It is now in vain to say what might have been done two years ago with the force you mention; but I believe, if properly supported by sea, such a force might yet perform very essential service. There is no guarding, you know, against storms; and one would wish either to avoid or to outsail a superior sea force. As I believe you know my way of thinking on such subjects, I shall offer you no argument. I know you want no prompter.”

Baron Vander Capellen had addressed Jones a second time, asking permission to publish his letter to the Countess of Selkirk, and inquiring whether he had ever been under any obligation to the husband of that lady. He also asked him whether he had a French commission. The first request Jones declined granting. “I am much obliged to you, my lord, (he said,) for the honour you do me, by proposing to publish the papers I sent you; but it is an honour which I must decline, because I can-

not publish my letter to the lady, without asking and obtaining her consent ; and because I have a very modest opinion of my own writings ; being conscious that they are not of sufficient value to claim the attention of the public. I assure you, my lord, it has given me much concern to see an extract of my rough journal in print ; and that, too, under the disadvantage of a translation. That mistaken kindness of a friend, will make me cautious how I communicate my papers." He also informed the baron, that Lord Selkirk knew him only by reputation. In reply to the question of the worthy nobleman, whether he had a French commission, he briefly said, "I never bore or acted under any other commission, than what I have received from the Congress of the United States of America."

And none other would he accept, while his so doing would be an implied admission, that the flag of the new republic was not an all sufficient protection for its vessels and citizens. His zeal for its honour is not more commendable, than the prudence he exhibited in his then very equivocal situation ; blockaded as he was from without, (for the combined fleet of France and Spain had returned to Brest, and the enemy's light cruisers were actively on the look out for him,) and menaced within the harbour, by the persevering demands and powerful interest of the English ambassador. So that though the stars and stripes were flying, and his own sentinels guarding a fortress intrusted to his command, he was aware to the fullest extent, of the precarious nature of the security he had for the tenure of his ship and prisoners, and indeed for his personal safety. If his sense of this had been obtuse, it was about to be quickened, in a manner which admitted of no misconception.

The charges against Landais were drawn up by the officers of the squadron, on the 30th October, and attested by them. They were twenty-five in number, and have already been sufficiently adverted to. The last was, that in coming into the Texel, Landais declared, that if Captain Jones should hoist a broad pendant, he would, to *vex him*, hoist another.

The nature of the embarrassments with which Jones was

beset at this time, will best appear from his own accounts. He says briefly, in his journal, that "with the most indefatigable attention and industry, gales of wind, and other circumstances prevented him from having the *Serapis* remasted, and the squadron ready to sail, before the middle of November." On the 4th of that month, he thus wrote to the French ambassador.

"MY LORD,

"This morning, the commandant of the road sent me word to come and speak to him on board his ship. He had before him on the table a letter, which, he said, was from the Prince of Orange. He questioned me very closely whether I had a French commission, and, if I had, he almost insisted upon seeing it. In conformity to your advice 'Cet avis donné au commencement n'étoit plus de saison depuis l'admission de l'escadre sous Pavillon Americain,' I told him that my French commission not having been found among my papers since the loss of the *Bon Homme Richard*, I feared it had gone to the bottom in that ship; but that, if it was really lost, it would be an easy matter to procure a duplicate of it from France. The commandant appeared to be very uneasy and anxious for my departure. I have told him, that as there are eight of the enemy's ships laying wait for me at the south entrance, and four more at the north entrance of the port, I was unable to fight more than three times my force; but that he might rest assured of my intention to depart with the utmost expedition, whenever I found a possibility to go clear.

"I should be very happy, my lord, if I could tell you of my being ready. I should have departed long ago, if I had met with common assistance; but for a fortnight past I have every day expected the necessary supply of water from Amsterdam in cisterns, and I am last night informed that it cannot be had without I send up water casks. The provision, too, that was ordered the day I returned to Amsterdam from the Hague, is not yet sent down; and the spars that have been sent from Amsterdam are spoiled in the making. None of the iron-work

that was ordered for the Serapis is yet completed, so that I am, even to this hour, in want of hinges to hang the lower gun ports. My officers and men lost their clothes and beds in the *Bon Homme Richard*, and they have yet got no supply. The bread that has been twice a week sent down from Amsterdam to feed my people, has been, literally speaking, *rotten*, and the consequence is, that they are falling sick.

“It is natural also that they should be discontented, while I am not able to tell them, that they will be paid the value of their property in the Serapis and the Countess of Scarborough, if either or both of them should be lost or taken after sailing from hence.

“Thus you see, my lord, that my prospects are far from pleasing. I have but few men, and they are discontented. If you can authorise me to promise them, at all hazards, that their property in the prizes shall be made good, and that they shall receive the necessary clothing and bedding, &c. or money to buy them, I believe I shall soon be able to bring them again into a good humour. In the mean time, I will send a vessel or two out to reconnoitre the offing, and to bring me word. Whatever may be the consequence of my having put into this harbour, I must observe, that it was done contrary to my opinion; and I consented to it only, because the majority of my colleagues were earnest for it.” Contemplating a speedy departure at all hazards, he wrote to M. Dumas on the same day, that if the weather permitted, what was necessary yet to be done, might be effected in four or five days. He added :

“With respect to the powers of Captain Pearson, I am convinced that he has received no authority from Sir Joseph Yorke. His powers, however, must be as ample as mine; and I should not, I assure you, have made such a convention with him, if Captain Rimersina, on the part of the States General, had not given me, verbally, free liberty to land the wounded prisoners, and to guard them in the fort on the Texel, by my soldiers with drawn swords, and with the bridges hauled up at our pleasure; and with free liberty to embark them again, and dispose of them as though they had not been landed in Holland. You

see, therefore, that my convention with Captain Pearson does not bind me to continue the prisoners ashore ; I can embark them again whenever I please, and it was only intended on my part as a security against elopement. They have hitherto been guarded with the drawbridges hauled up or let down at the sovereign will and pleasure of the ‘Governor General.’ If my wishes succeed, it will afford America matter of exultation ; and at the worst we can only lose eighteen or nineteen dangerously wounded prisoners, which I think will be made up by our having had possession of a fort on the Texel. I shall only add, that my meaning has been good ; and that I thought I might rely on the guarantee, that I had on the part of the States General, while we could keep the prisoners from making their escape from the fort.”

But M. de Sartine had determined upon a measure which prevented Jones from immediately attempting an escape, and from carrying out, under the flag to which she had stuck, the dearly bought Serapis. On the 6th of November, that minister thus briefly wrote to Dr. Franklin : “Circumstances require that the expedition of the squadron, under the orders of Mr. Jones should terminate at the Texel. It seems indispensable to give a new destination to the different ships which compose it. You are at liberty, sir, to dispose of the American frigate, the Alliance, according to the views you may entertain in relation to the service of the United States. I pray you only, to observe to Mr. Jones, or any other officer to whom you may intrust the command, that he must not have any subject of the king on board of that frigate.” The minister had resolved to adopt the shortest course, in relation to the vessels which were the property of France, and probably had no doubt that Jones would be willing to accept a commission from that government, to extricate himself from his now solitary and dangerous position. He was mistaken.

In communicating a copy of this note to Jones, Franklin observed, that the injunction as to the king’s subjects might extend to Landais, who had not yet arrived. He remarked : “ I

suppose you will learn the intentions of the minister, relative to the disposition of the prizes, from the ambassador; and that you will go on board the Alliance yourself. I am anxious that the prisoners should be safely lodged in France, and should earnestly recommend that matter to your attention if I did not know that you desire, as much as I do, the exchange of our poor countrymen."

While these unpleasant documents were on their way, M. Dumas had repaired to the Helder, where he was busily engaged in endeavouring to expedite the departure of the squadron. On the 12th, the ambassador having received the instructions of M. de Sartine, recalled Dumas to the Hague, and directed him to inform Jones that he must suspend his sailing until he received new orders; but lose no time in the business of repairs. The Dutch vice admiral had on the same day given him notice, that he was expected to sail with the first fair wind. This officer, named Reynst, had been appointed to the command of the Dutch fleet, consisting of thirteen men of war, by the Prince of Orange. Mr. Rimersina, a friend of America, and who had treated the squadron with every civility, was removed from that command.

If Sir Joseph had not effected all his object, he had succeeded in placing Jones in such jeopardy that his escape with safety and honour seemed hopeless.* Their high mightinesses

* In the Life of Jones, published in Edinburgh, the following note is inserted:

"About this time, a seaman's wife of Burlington addressed a letter to Sir Joseph Yorke at the Hague, imploring tidings of her husband, of whom, since the engagement of Jones with the Serapis, she had never heard, and who, she feared, had fallen in that fight. Sir Joseph gallantly and humanely complied with the poor Englishwoman's request, and as he was aware that his epistle to Mrs. Burnot would appear in all the English and French newspapers, he, with considerable covert humour, contrived to have a hit at the shuffling policy of the Dutch, and the chameleon character of the squadron they sheltered, while he replied to the seaman's wife—

"MRS. BURNOT—As soon as I received your letter of the 7th instant, I lost no time in making inquiries after your gallant husband, Mr. Richard Burnot; and have now great pleasure in congratulating you upon his being alive and well, on board the

had continued their deliberations on the points reserved, which had been pressed upon them in the English ambassador's remonstrance of October 29th. On the 17th November, the Duke De Vauguyon informed M. Dumas, that the States of Holland had come to the conclusion, by a plurality of votes, to constrain Jones to depart, and directed him to repair forthwith to the Texel, and make the necessary arrangements. On the 19th, the States General resolved that they would persist in maintaining their ancient maxim, not to decide upon the legality of captures under foreign flags, which maxim, they added, was even founded upon treaties; but that they had already given evident proof of their not wishing to render any aid to the inhabitants of the British colonies in America, by giving orders that Jones should be furnished with no munitions of war or other articles, other than were necessary to enable him to make the nearest port; and that, in case of necessity, they would even constrain him to sail, as soon as his vessels could keep the sea, and the wind permitted. They repeated an express disavowal of their intending, by any implication, to recognise the independence of the Colonies. And they directed the Admiralty college at Amsterdam to advise Jones, that the approaching season of winter would make his departure inconvenient; to avoid which, it was necessary that he should let no opportunity escape of putting to sea; "that such was the serious

Countess of Scarborough, at the Texel. I find he had been burnt with an explosion of gunpowder, but is now quite recovered. He sends me word, that he, as you know, could not write, and therefore hoped I would let you know he was well, which I do with infinite satisfaction. It will still be greater, if I can get him exchanged, which I am doing my best endeavours for; but, as the people who took him are sometimes French and sometimes rebels, as it suits their convenience, that renders this affair more difficult than it would be if they allowed themselves to be French; because I could then settle the exchange at once. I am happy to be able to give such agreeable news to the wife of my brave countryman, and I am very sincerely your most faithful humble servant,

" 'JOSEPH YORKE.

' 'Hague, Nov. 26, 1779.' "

intention of their high mightinesses, and they could not expect that by opposing it, he would oblige them to take measures which would be disagreeable to him." And they required his serene highness (the Prince of Orange) to order the officer commanding in the Texel road to see to it (*tenir la main*) with all discretion, and permit no delay which the nature of the case did not render unavoidable, not excepting the use of forcible means, if they were found necessary.

It is proper to record, that the previous resolutions, passed on the 17th, by the States of the province of Holland, composed of eighteen towns and the body of nobles, (the latter having one voice,) were protested against by six of the principal towns. The deputies of Dordrecht, Rotterdam, and Schiedam, assented to the resolution only so far as it conformed to that adopted on the 21st October, and dissented from that part authorising force to be employed, as being premature, and contrary to the ancient maxims and customs of the republic. They protested that they would not be responsible for the consequences; and reserved the right to such ulterior comments and measures of opposition, as might be deemed proper by their constituents. The deputies of Haerlem in very strong language, and, as they said, by the express orders of their constituents, declared their dissent. The deputies of Amsterdam declared that they opposed and "held for null, the conclusion of a report of the 13th, on the last memorial of M. the ambassador Yorke, concerning the reclamaticn of the vessels, &c. inasmuch, as the said report tends to the employment of means of constraint and even violence, to compel the commander Paul Jones to depart *casu quo* from the Texel road." And, together with the before mentioned protesting towns, they considered a meagre plurality of voices insufficient to sanction a measure which they deemed unconstitutional, as being inconsistent with the ordinance and placard of 1756. The deputies of the town of Brille refused to assent to the report, and reserved all rights till further instructed by their principals. The towns of Horn and Ere-

huysen were not represented by their deputies, when these resolutions passed.

M. Dumas relates, that he repaired to the Texel on the 18th, and that the arrangements made necessary by the orders of Sartine and Franklin, were prosecuted during the ten following days ; the vice admiral giving a great deal of trouble, particularly after receiving his instructions founded on the resolutions of the States General. Though the wind was contrary, he was unremitting in his urgency, and even threats of violence. On the 24th, his captain *en second* visited the squadron and read aloud a paper, which he then returned to his pocket. M. Dumas, foreseeing, as he says, the contents, had prepared a reply ; demanding, in future, copies of all orders and *menées*, in order that they might be transmitted to Congress and to Dr. Franklin. To another pressing message on the 28th, M. Dumas caused an answer to be given, “ in a high voice, before all the crews and the rowers of the boat which brought the messenger, that the vice admiral exacted impossibilities.” This declaration he made the pilot sign, and they were then left undisturbed for ten days. In an extract from a letter, from the Hague, which was forwarded among the papers sent by M. Dumas to the committee of foreign affairs, it is stated, that “ after Paul Jones had declared himself ready to comply with the orders of their high mightinesses, whenever he was able to sail at large, Vice Admiral Reynst, having sent Captain Van Overmeer on board the *Serapis*, to give new notice in the most serious manner to the commanding officer, that he must get a coast pilot, and sail with the first favourable wind, the captain was informed that this vessel was no longer commanded by Paul Jones, but by Captain Cottineau de Cosgelin, who had taken possession of her, in the name of the king of France.” The Stadtholder, it is added, thereupon wrote to the vice admiral to use no forcible measures, until further orders, against vessels whose commanders held French commissions ; but advised him that previous orders remained in force, as regarded the Alliance, actually commanded by Jones ; and at the same time charged him “ to

take care that none of the prisoners who had not been conducted into the road, and put on board said vessel, should be carried there." These directions, the letter adds, were communicated to their high mightinesses, who approved of them, reserving the right of ulterior deliberation on subsequent measures; and in the mean time copies of the agreement between Jones and Pearson were put into circulation.

Jones had indeed made up his mind to comply with the triple requisitions of France, Dr. Franklin, and the States General; but he was determined to fulfil the expectations of the American ambassador as to the exchange of prisoners, while there was the least hope of his doing so. On the 27th, he wrote to the Duke de la Vauguyon, expressing his admiration of "the warm and persuasive zeal which he had so nobly displayed at Amsterdam, for the service of the best of kings." He expressed his regret that, in endeavouring to comply with his promise to his crew, he had been compelled to ask for them conditions, which the duke did not feel at liberty to grant. To comply with those promises and effect the exchange of American prisoners in England, were, he said, the two interesting objects, which, "and not any natural obstinacy of temper, produced that inflexibility which gave your excellency so much trouble to overcome. But, the conflict being now past, I am, (in full confidence,) made happy by having yielded to the Duke de la Vauguyon." "I consider myself as being entirely dismissed from any connexion with the court. I complain not of the measure; but as I am unconscious of having in any instance lost sight of the points of duty that were given me in charge, I confess I have been and am hurt, at the manner in which I have been dismissed. The more so, as the connexion was not at the beginning of my seeking; and as I never asked, nor meant to ask a favour for myself from the minister."

The order Franklin had found it necessary to grant, involved the delivery of the prisoners to the French ambassador. The *Serapis* and Countess of Scarborough were also taken from under his orders. It was not without a pang that he resigned

the command of the former vessel ; which had recently cost the British government a large sum of money, was a new ship, and sufficiently refitted for sea. He found it imperatively necessary to remove to the *Alliance*, on board of which alone the American flag was now flying, and from which the preceding letter was dated. When, and in what terms the offer to accept a French commission was first made to him, does not very distinctly appear. He states generally in his *Journal*, that Holland agreed to give convoy to the fleet bound for Brest, and that the French court wished him either to accept a commission and hoist the flag of France on board all the ships of the squadron and the prizes, or go on board the frigate *Alliance*. He chose the latter he says, for many reasons ; but “ his superior motive was to preserve the honour of the American flag, in the worst of times. In any other light it was a most disagreeable and mortifying change.” The *Alliance* had not a good cable or sail ; the officers and men were intemperate and idle ; filth, insubordination, and epilemical diseases, prevailed among the crew ; she was badly supplied with small arms, and her powder was of bad quality. The latter wants Jones was, however, enabled to supply, from the superfluous number of small arms found on board the *Serapis*, and the powder which had been transferred to the *Pallas* from the *Bon’Homme Richard*, when the latter ship was on fire, the morning after the action. He also had two cables, procured for the *Serapis* at Amsterdam ; without which the *Alliance* would have been lost in the gales that prevailed at the *Texel*, before she sailed from thence, when all her other cables broke.

The letters from the French ambassador to Sartine and Franklin, show that the gratitude expressed to the ambassador by Jones, was not unmerited ; and that the former had pressed upon his government the claims urged by the latter, on behalf of the rights of his crew, under the laws and usages of the United States of America.

On the 29th, Jones wrote to Dr. Franklin, expressing a hope that his conduct on the second interview with the French am-

bassador, (referred to by M. Dumas,) would meet with his approbation. "I do not," he said, "well understand the reasons of this alteration ; but M. Dumas, who was present, can inform you, that I have done every thing in my power, to secure the prisoners, without a quarrel with the ambassador. I have a hundred prisoners on board here, among whom are all that were landed and guarded for three weeks by our people, in the fort on the Texel. I shall, with this ship, embrace the first fair wind for L'Orient. I hope to take some good prizes by the way, and on my arrival there to meet with your further orders. I should have come on board here, on the departure of Captain Landais, agreeable to your letter of the 15th ult. had it not been from delicacy ; as that mistaken man had said I had made interest with you to supersede him in the command of this frigate ! If he has any sensibility, it will be a sufficient punishment for him to know that, till the engagement with the Serapis, I was his friend, and had never written his name to you, without saying something in his favour. * * * * It is natural for me to wish, that the Serapis should become the property of America. It is the best ship that I ever saw of the kind ; and would cost the continent less than any frigate that has yet been under our flag. I wish to embrace you once more, before I leave Europe ; but my private feelings, I hope, shall never divert my attention from my duty."

In a postscript, he added, "I have the pleasure to inform you that Captain Cunningham is now here with me." There was at any rate one consolatory circumstance, in which he had reason to congratulate himself on the consequence of his own firm conduct towards the English captain and the haughty ambassador.

Not confining himself to remonstrances with the magistrates and legislatures, and to intrigues with public characters, who could aid him in thwarting the escape of Jones, there is no reason to doubt, that Sir Joseph Yorke offered rewards for the private apprehension of the American commodore. Jones does not scruple to charge him, in his subsequent references to this

period, with practising clandestinely to get possession of his person. In a statement drawn up by Mr. Van Berckel, grand pensionary of Amsterdam, attested in every particular by M. Dumas, it is said, "the ambassador did all in his power with the magistrates and private citizens of Amsterdam, to cause them to lay hands upon the person of the commodore, and to deliver him up to him; but in vain. No person had the baseness or the courage to undertake his desire in this respect."

On the 1st December, meditating his departure at all hazards, whenever the wind should serve, (which, however, it did not until the 27th,) we find Jones returning his thanks to Captain Rimersina for his personal civilities, and the attention shown to the American flag, while he had commanded in the road. On the 5th, while forwarding despatches for Congress, enclosed to the Hon. Robert Morris, he thus wrote to that gentleman: "I am persuaded you will observe with pleasure, that my connexion with a court is at end, and that my prospect of returning to America approaches. The great seem to wish only to be concerned with tools, who dare not speak or write truth. I am not sorry that my connexion with them is at an end. In the course of that connexion, I ran ten chances of ruin and dishonour for one of reputation; and all the honours or profit that France could bestow, should not tempt me again to undertake the same service with an armament equally ill composed, and with powers equally limited. It affords me the most exalted pleasure to reflect, that, when I return to America, I can say, that I have served in Europe at my own expense, and without the fee or reward of a court. When the prisoners we have taken are safely lodged in France, I shall have no farther business in Europe, as the liberty of all our fellow citizens, who now suffer in English prisons will then be secured; and I shall hope hereafter to be usefully employed under the immediate direction of the Congress."

At the same time that these despatches were transmitted, he drew up his memorial from the Texel, frequently referred to in the former part of this work. It bears date December 7th. In

it he minutely recapitulated the events, with which he had been connected while in the public service in America, more briefly adverted to the transactions detailed in his despatches from Europe; and thus concluded: "I now hope to appear in America, in a short time hence, and to have the honour to present my respects in person to Congress; for I give up the expectation of ever commanding the *Indien*; and as I believe the prisoners I have taken will effect the exchange of all our fellow subjects, who are now in the English prisons, I shall hope to be afterwards more usefully employed under the immediate direction of Congress. I have not drawn my sword in our glorious cause for hire, but in support of the dignity of human nature, and in obedience to the genuine and divine feelings of philanthropy. I hoisted with my own hand the flag of freedom, the first time that it was displayed on board the *Alfred* on the Delaware, and I have attended it ever since with veneration on the ocean. I claimed and obtained its first salute from that of France, before our independence was otherwise announced in that kingdom, and no man can wish more ardently to support its rising glory than myself. I never have asked, and I have now to ask no other favour from Congress, than the continuance of that good opinion, which has in time past made me so happy, and so greatly overpaid my endeavour to do my duty."

The final arrangement adopted in relation to the prisoners, by the express wish of his majesty the king of France, was, that they should be exchanged for French prisoners at the Texel; France giving the same number in France, to exchange against the Americans in England. This was effected with a great deal of difficulty. The hundred of whom Jones speaks, in the letter to Franklin last quoted from, were the sick and wounded who had been landed at the Fort, and whom he persevered in retaining, under his express agreement with Captain Pearson.

Whatever might have been the previous propositions as to his accepting a French commission, an offer was now made by direction of M. de la Sartine, and communicated by the ambassador, which excited the indignation of Jones in no small degree;

and it will not be thought, under all the circumstances, that he expressed it in language either too strong or not sufficiently respectful. He thus addressed the French ambassador, on the 13th December.

“MY LORD,

“Perhaps there are many men in the world, who would esteem as an honour the commission that I have this day refused. My rank from the beginning knew no superior in the marine of America; how then must I be humbled were I to accept a letter of marque! I should, my lord, esteem myself inexcusable, were I to accept even a commission of equal or superior denomination to that I bear, unless I were previously authorised by Congress, or some other competent authority in Europe. And I must tell you, that on my arrival at Brest from the Irish channel, Count D’Orvilliers offered to procure for me from court, a commission of ‘Capitaine de Vaisseau,’ which I did not then accept for the same reason, although the war between France and England was not then begun, and of course the commission of France would have protected me from an enemy of superior force.

“It is a matter of the highest astonishment to me, that, after so many compliments and fair professions, the court, should offer the present insult to my understanding, and suppose me capable of disgracing my present commission. I confess that I never merited all the praise bestowed on my past conduct, but I also feel that I have far less merited such a reward. Where profession and practice are so opposite, I am no longer weak enough to form a wrong conclusion. They may think as they please of me; for where I cannot continue my esteem, praise or censure from any man is to me a matter of indifference.

“I am much obliged to them, however, for having at last fairly opened my eyes, and enabled me to discover truth from falsehood.

The prisoners shall be delivered agreeable to the orders

which you have done me the honour to send to me, from his excellency the American ambassador in France.

“ I will also with great pleasure, not only permit a part of my seamen to go on board the ships under your excellency’s orders, but I will also do my utmost to prevail with them to embark freely ; and if I can now or hereafter, by any other honourable means, facilitate the success or the honour of his majesty’s arms, I pledge myself to you as his ambassador, that none of his own subjects would bleed in his cause with greater freedom than myself, an American.

“ It gives me the more pain, my lord, to write this letter, because the court has enjoined you to prepare what would destroy my peace of mind, and my future veracity in the opinion of the world.

“ When, *with the consent of court* and by order of the American ambassador, I gave American commissions to French officers, I did not fill up those commissions to command privateers, nor even for a rank *equal* to that of their commissions in the marine of France. They were promoted to rank *far superior* ; and why ? not from personal friendship, nor from my knowledge of their services and abilities, (the men and their characters being entire strangers to me,) but from the respect which I believed America would wish to show for the service of France.

“ While I remained eight months seemingly forgot by the court at Brest, many commissions, such as that in question, were offered to me ; and I believe, (when I am in pursuit of *plunder*,) I can still obtain such an one without application to court.

“ I hope, my lord, that my behaviour through life will ever entitle me to the continuance of your good wishes and opinion, and that you will take occasion to make mention of the warm and personal affection with which my heart is impressed towards his majesty.

“ I am, &c. &c.”

To Franklin, to whom he enclosed the copy of this letter, he broke out in terms less constrained.

"I hope," he said, "that the within copy of my letter to the Duc de la Vauguyon will meet your approbation ; for I am persuaded that it never could be your intention or wish that I should be made the tool of any great r—— whatever ; or that the commission of America should be overlaid by the dirty piece of parchment which I have this day rejected ! They have played upon my good humour too long already, but the spell is at last dissolved. They would play me off with assurance of the personal and particular esteem of the king, to induce me to do what would render me contemptible even in the eyes of my own servants ! Accustomed to speak untruths themselves, they would also have me to give under my hand that I am a liar and a scoundrel. They are mistaken, and I would tell them what you did to your naughty servant. ' We have too contemptible an opinion of one another's understanding to live together.' I could tell them, too, that if M—— de C—— had not taken such safe precautions to keep me honest by means of his famous *concordat*, and to support me by so many able colleagues, these great men would not have been reduced to such mean shifts ; for the prisoners could have been landed at Dunkirk the day that I entered the Texel, and I could have brought in double the numbers."

"We hear that the enemy still keeps a squadron cruising off here, but this shall not prevent my attempts to depart, whenever the wind will permit. I hope we have recovered the trim of this ship, which was entirely lost during the last cruise ; and I do not much fear the enemy in the long and dark nights of this season. The ship is well manned, and shall not be given away. I need not tell you I will do my utmost to take prisoners and prizes in my way from hence."

The squadron of Holland, (thirteen two-deckers,) according to his Journal, had been drawn up and barricaded every day for battle, for more than a month, to drive him out if he should attempt to remain after the wind became fair, while the English fleet was almost constantly in sight off the harbour." On the 16th, the Vice Admiral Reynst sent to request him to come on

board of his ship, from which he excused himself. On the next day the vice admiral wrote to him : " I desire you by this present letter, to please to inform me how I must consider the Alliance which you are on board of : whether as a French or American vessel. If the first, I expect you to cause his majesty's commission to be shown to me, and that you display the French flag and pendant, announcing it by discharging a gun. If the second, I expect you to omit no occasion of departing, according to the orders of their high mightinesses." This letter Jones communicated to the French commissary of marine at Amsterdam, the Chevalier de Lironcourt, then at the Helder, who in his immediate reply, courteously suggested that Jones would give the highest satisfaction to all parties by displaying French colours, but said that he would urge him no more ; assuring him that the brevet which had been tendered to him was only intended for the existing exigency, and the good of the common cause ; and not offered from any of the discreditable motives imagined by him. Jones briefly answered the admiral that he had no orders to hoist any other flag ; and that whenever the pilot would take it upon him to conduct the ship to sea, he would give him his best assistance.

On the 21st, the Duke de la Vauguyon, addressed an epistle to Jones, well calculated to soothe his exasperated feelings, and which had the desired effect to a certain extent.

" I perceive with pain, my dear commodore," he said, " that you do not view your situation in the right light ; and I can assure you that the ministers of the king have no intention to cause you the least disagreeable feeling, as the honourable testimonials of the esteem of his majesty, which I send you, ought to convince you. I hope you will not doubt the sincere desire with which you have inspired me to procure you every satisfaction you may merit. It cannot fail to incite you to give new proofs of your zeal for the common cause of France and America. I flatter myself to renew, before long, the occasion, and to procure you the means to increase still more the glory you have already acquired. I am already occupied with all the

interest I promised you ; and if my views are realized, as I have every reason to believe, you will be at all events perfectly content , but I must pray you not to hinder my project by delivering yourself to the expression of those strong sensations to which you appear to give way, and for which there is really no foundation. You appear to possess full confidence in the justice and kindness of the king ; rely also upon the same sentiments on the part of his ministers.”

In reply, Jones wrote as follows, on the 25th : “ I have not a heart of stone, but am duly sensible of the obligations conferred on me by the very kind and affectionate letter, that you have done me the honour to write me the 21st current. * * * * Were I to form my opinion of the ministry from the treatment that I experienced while at Brest, or from their want of confidence in me afterwards, exclusive of what has taken place since I had the misfortune to enter this port, I will appeal to your excellency, as a man of candour and ingenuity, whether I ought to desire to prolong a connexion that has made me so unhappy, and wherein I have given so very little satisfaction. M. le Chevalier de Lironcourt has lately made me reproaches on account of the expense that, he says, France has been at to give me reputation, in preference to twenty captains of the royal navy, better qualified than myself, and who, each of them, solicited for the command that was lately given to me !

“ This, I confess, is quite new, and indeed surprising to me ; and, had I known it before I left France, I certainly should have resigned in favour of the twenty men of superior merit. I do not, however, think that his first assertion is true ; for the ministers must be unworthy of their places were they capable of squandering the public money only to give an individual reputation ; and as to the second, I fancy the court will not thank him for having given me that information, whether true or false. I may add here, that with a force so ill composed, and with powers so limited, I ran ten chances of ruin and dishonour for one of gaining reputation ; and had not the plea of humanity in favour of the unfortunate Americans in English dungeons

superseded all consideration of self, I faithfully assure you, my lord, that I would not have proceeded under such circumstances from Groix. I do not imbibe hasty prejudices against any individuals; but when many and repeated circumstances, conspiring in one point, have inspired me with disesteem towards any person, I must see convincing proof of reformation in such person before my heart can beat again with affection in his favour; for the mind is free, and can be bound only by kind treatment. * * * I hope I shall not through any imprudence of mine, render ineffectual any noble design that may be in contemplation for the general good. Whenever that object is mentioned, my private concerns are out of the question; and where I cannot speak exactly what I could wish with respect to my private satisfaction, I promise you in the mean time to observe a prudent silence."

It is truly wonderful, that Jones should have found time, in the midst of the difficulties in which he was involved, and the quantity of business which it was necessary for him to attend to in person, during his three months' blockade in the Texel road, to have committed to paper such a mass of correspondence as has even been preserved. This long memorial must have been composed about the time of its date. He was in daily correspondence with the diplomatic M. Dumas, to whom he submitted all his letters for his inspection and advice. He had, however, in the beginning of November, refused very warm and polite invitations, to visit either Amsterdam or even the Hague. "Duty," he said, "must take the precedence of pleasure. I must wait a more favourable opportunity to kiss the hands of the fair." He was indeed most intensely and indefatigably employed all this time, in persevering efforts to effect the fixed purpose of his soul, let fluctuating neutral policy take what course it might, or vacillating ministers yield what points they might think unimportant, or Sir Joseph Yorke fulmine or intrigue as he pleased. We find Jones subsequently apologizing for not having answered in rhyme the metrical effusions of a young lady, the daughter of M. Dumas, who did poetical homage

to the chivalric and gallant commodore, and whom he styled the "Virgin Muse." Verily, he had other business to transact than that of tagging couplets together ; and though he aspired most devoutly to please the fair, and was dearly sensible of their attentions, I can find no foundation for the remark of one of his biographers, that his neglect to answer the last copy of the lady's verses, " appears to have weighed more on his mind than all the squadrons and remonstrances of the enemy." It only drew somewhat heavy draughts on his stock of complimentary language, and vocabulary of badinage.

On the 27th of December, the wind serving, he set sail from the Texel, leaving, to use the musty proverb, the frying pan, in which he had been so long kept hot, at the risk of encountering the fire, with which the English cruisers would have been well pleased to have favoured him. From the Alliance, at sea, he wrote on this day to M. Dumas :

" I am here, my dear sir, with a good wind at east, and under my best American colours—so far you have your wish. What may be the event of this critical moment I know not ; I am not, however, without good hopes. Through the ignorance or drunkenness of the old pilot, the Alliance last night got foul of a Dutch merchant ship, and I believe the Dutchmen cut our cable. We lost the best bower anchor, and the ship was brought up with the sheet anchor so near the shore, that this morning I have been obliged to cut the cable in order to get clear of the shore, and that I might not lose this opportunity of escaping from purgatory."

His Journal for the King, contains the following account of this nice and successful operation of seamanship. " He passed," he states, " along the Flemish banks, and, getting to windward of the enemy's fleets of observation in the North Sea, he the next day passed through the Straits of Dover, in full view of the enemy's fleet in the Downs. The day following Captain

Jones ran the *Alliance* past the Isle of Wight, in view of the enemy's fleet at Spithead, and in two days more got safe through the Channel, having passed by windward in sight of several of the enemy's large two-decked cruising ships. Captain Jones wished to carry with him some prizes and prisoners to France; but the *Alliance*, by the arrangement Captain Landais had made of the ballast at L'Orient, was out of trim, and could not sail fast, her sails being too thin and old for cold latitudes. He steered to the southward, and cruised for some days without success off Cape Finisterre. On the 16th of January, 1780, Captain Jones, to shun a gale of wind, and procure a sound anchor, (for he had left the *Texel* with only one,) ran into Corogne. He was very kindly received in Spain, but sailed again, and arrived at Groix on the 10th February, having taken no prizes; but met with and conducted in the American merchant ship *Livingston*, with a large cargo of tobacco, from Virginia for Bordeaux."

It is barely necessary here to beg the reader to remember, that the conduct of Jones during his stay in the *Texel*, placed Holland in such a situation, that England could not but treat her as an alienated friend; that the formal manifesto or declaration of war, published at the end of the year 1780, set forth the entertainment of Jones' squadron, and the license given to him to depart, (a license not very enviable under such circumstances,) as the main acts which justified open hostility; that few of the few celebrated "Retreats," either on land or water, in which neither honour nor any material point of vantage was lost, can overmatch that of Jones from the *Texel*; and we may be spared from attempting formal panegyric on actions, which have few parallels in history, when the performance involved such important political results.

Three days after being at sea, on this skittish voyage, we find Jones actually fulfilling his obligations to his fair correspondent at Amsterdam, by writing a copy of verses, as good as those of any naval commander whom we happen to think of, except Sir Walter Raleigh; and of a kind which though rejected by

"Gods and columns," served in the days of our forefathers to please very respectable "men" and women too.* The production was dated on the New Year's day of 1780. According to our modern notions, were it not that in the second and third stanzas, he got irregularly rid of three lumbering Alexandrines introduced in the first, his metre had as much pretension to be called poetry, as nine tenths of the *vers de société* of the French Classical School, or the magazine poetry of England and its colonies, at that period.

Previous to his entering the port of L'Orient in February, we find but two letters from his pen, which are preserved. He wrote from Corunna on the 16th January to La Fayette, mentioning very briefly his detention in the "detestable road" of the Texel, and his mortification at being offered a letter of marque. "I steered this way," he said, "in hopes of meeting some of their cruisers off Cape Finisterre, but am hitherto disappointed. It being very stormy weather, I this evening anchored here, where I mean only to scrub the bottom, and take a little fresh water, &c." On the 20th, he addressed the president of Congress, from on board the Alliance off Corunna, enclosing quadruplicate despatches. He expressed a hope that his refusal of a French commission would not be disagreeable to Congress, and gave a particular detail of the manner in which forty English ships of the line and frigates, (two of which were lost,) were for six weeks stationed to intercept him.

Before proceeding with the transactions subsequent to his arrival at L'Orient, the situation of the two prizes sent by Landais to Norway, "under the nose of Jones," as he expresses it, and in defiance of his orders, claims a passing notice.

The ship Betsy, of 22 guns and 84 men, and the Union of the like force, with a quantity of naval stores on board, arrived at Bergen on the 12th September, under the conduct of two of the officers of the Alliance. Immediate attention was paid to them

* See Appendix No. IX.

by the consular agent of France, M. Dechezaulx, who wrote to apprise Dr. Franklin of their arrival, and also to M. Caillard the chargé d'affaires of France at the court of Denmark. These prizes were of value,* but had suffered considerably at sea, and stood in need of repairs. They were also badly manned. M. Dechezaulx had instructions from Sartine, to render the same services to vessels of the United States as to those of France. He was in hopes that the sale of these prizes would be allowed or overlooked by the Danish authorities, though the independence of the United States had not been recognised by that court; but of course expected the most vehement opposition from the English consul. This apprehension was soon disagreeably realized. On the 26th of October, he wrote to inform Franklin that a resolution had been adopted by the court of Denmark, "unjust and contrary to the law of nations," to restore the ships to the English government, and that they had been delivered up accordingly. The decision had been sudden and totally unexpected. The order given by Landais to the officers who had them in charge was, simply to conduct them to Bergen, and M. Dechezaulx had no authority, without receiving orders from Franklin, to send them away, had they been in a condition to put to sea. The resolution was not communicated to the French chargé d'affaires, until some time after it had been made, during which time he had conferences with the Danish minister in relation to the prizes. Nothing could be done under these circumstances by the American officers, who were obliged to go on shore with upwards of twenty men, and with no provision made for them, except to enter their formal protest against the proceedings. The governor, however, assured them that he would exert himself in their behalf; and the principal merchants offered them every assistance. A few weeks after, the governor informed them, that he was authorized to pay their expenses, and that there was a probability that

* M. Dechezaulx estimated them to be worth at least 40,000*l.* sterling.

the ships would be paid for, to the satisfaction of the American government ; a cheap promise, never fulfilled. Franklin addressed Count Bernstoff, the Danish minister, on the subject. But his letter was not received until the 31st of January. On the 4th of that month, we find the officers, five in number, without any advices from Franklin, representing that, " they greatly regretted remaining in such an inactive state, being unable to render any service whatever, either to their country or themselves." Of those prizes, which became subsequently the subject of much negotiation, it is only necessary to add here, that they were totally lost to the United States, by the perverse folly and wilful disobedience of Landais. Another prize called the Charming Polly, was also sent to Bergen, where she arrived after the Union and Betsy, and shared the same fate.

The events of the year 1780, during which Jones was in France, and the correspondence of that period must be succinctly referred to. The latter is voluminous, and with the help of imagination some romance might be constructed out of the letters of fair ladies, known and anonymous. But our business is with truth, and we must confine ourselves within certain limits.

From the fatigues Jones had undergone, his health was impaired, and when he anchored at Groix, he was almost blind from the soreness of his eyes. He went up to L'Orient for a change of air, whence he addressed Franklin on the 13th of February. His first object was to repair the Alliance ; and he set about his preparations for that business with a zeal, and on a scale, which the economical Franklin in vain endeavoured to control and reduce. The cutwater of that vessel had been wrenched out of its place, and her trim could not be regained without altering the arrangement of the ballast, which Jones says, he understood " Captain Landais had extended along the ceiling from the stem post to the stern ; an idea that I believe he may without vanity call his own." Jones had ordered canvass and cordage from Amsterdam. He also proposed to sheathe the bottom with copper, if it could be afforded. The other

ships left in the Texel road had arrived in France, the Dutch fleet giving them convoy. The *Serapis* was at L'Orient, and her conqueror wished she could be made the property of America. The Countess of Scarborough was at Durkirk. The American minister found himself compelled to use the language of supplication.

"As to refitting your ship at the expense of this court," he said, "I must acquaint you that there is not the least probability of obtaining it, and therefore I cannot ask it. I hear too much already of the extraordinary expense you made in Holland, to think of proposing an addition to it, especially, as you seem to impute the damage she has sustained, more to Captain Landais' negligence, than to accidents of the cruise. The whole expense will, therefore, fall upon me, and I am ill provided to bear it, having so many unexpected calls upon me from all quarters. I, therefore, beg you would have mercy on me, put me to as little charge as possible, and take nothing you can possibly do without. As to sheathing with copper, it is totally out of the question. I am not authorized to do it, if I had money; and I have not money for it, if I had orders. The purchase of the *Serapis* is in the same predicament. I believe the sending canvass and cordage from Amsterdam has already been forbidden; if not, I shall forbid it. I approve of your applying to Messrs. Goullade and Moylan for what repairs you want, having an exceeding good opinion of those gentlemen; but let me repeat it, for God's sake be sparing, unless you mean to make me a bankrupt, or have your drafts dishonoured, for want of money in my hands to pay them."

To this earnest exhortation, Jones said in reply, "I feel your reasons for urging frugality; and as I have not hitherto been among the most extravagant servants of America, so you may depend upon it, my regard for you will make me particularly nice in my present situation." In his answer to questions subsequently proposed by the American board of Admiralty, which had now been established, Jones gives a truly deplorable account of the condition of the Alliance, which, on being thoroughly ex-

amined, proved deficient and inconvenient in its original construction, and altogether ill contrived. The essential repairs were finished by the middle of April, by the crew of the ship and four or five American carpenters. The materials of the old arrangement nearly sufficed to finish the new. Jones says, "judges allowed that when the business was finished, every thing about that frigate was perfect. I know not what was the amount of the disbursements." In his Journal for the king, he says, "She was thought one of the completest frigates in France." It may easily be conjectured that the entreaties of the illustrious author of *Poor Richard* were not always remembered, while this metamorphose was in process.

At this time, he seems to have thought that an opinion was entertained, probably on account of his having rejected the French commission so indignantly, that his feelings towards the nation were unfriendly. This impression he thought it necessary to counteract. Writing to La Fayette, he said: "Withdrawn as I am at present from the public attention, and having endeavoured only by my past conduct to prove my zeal for the common cause, it is strange that I cannot escape the malicious attacks of little minds. If any person, who has himself deserved well of his country, can accuse me of ingratitude, let him step forth like a man, and I will answer *en homme d'honneur*. * * * * To come to the point, here follows my political profession. I am a citizen of the world, totally unfettered by the little mean distinctions of country or of climate; which diminish or set bounds to the benevolence of the heart. * * * * As an American officer, and as a man, I affectionately love and respect the character and nation of France, and hope the alliance with America may last for ever. I owe the greatest obligation to the generous praises of the French nation on my past conduct, and shall be happy to merit future favour. I greatly love and esteem his most christian majesty as the great ally of America, the best of kings, and the amiable friend and 'protector of the rights of human nature;' therefore, he has very few of his own subjects who would bleed in his present cause with

greater freedom than myself, and none who are more disinterested. At the same time, I lament the calamities of war, and wish above all things, for an honourable, happy, and lasting peace. My fortune is not augmented by the part I have hitherto acted in the revolution, (although I have had frequent opportunities of acquiring riches,) and I pledge myself to the worthy part of mankind, that my future conduct in the war shall not forfeit their good opinion. I am ever, with great and sincere affection, happy in your friendship, &c."

He gave assurances to the Duke de Vauguyon to the same effect.

"There are, my lord, some of my secret enemies base enough to insinuate that I do not love the nation of France; but be assured that, though I felt myself hurt by some measures that were adopted towards me, and for which I cannot yet see any good reason, yet I have never written, spoken, or even thought, disrespectfully of the nation."

It was unquestionably for the interest of any man of common prudence, under Jones' circumstances, to endeavour to conciliate the good will of the French nation. His forbearance as to Landais proved that he acted upon this conviction. He had certainly no great cause to love M. de la Sartine, nor to feel particularly warm towards the captains who had been associated with him, from whatever cause their disagreement might have arisen. But he was certainly honest in his professions of regard for the nation; and the subsequent honours he received at court increased that regard fervently.

It was Franklin's intention to send the Alliance back, as soon as she should be in a condition to make the voyage. Jones would not have opposed this purpose; though it may fairly be supposed that the interest he took in the disposition which might be made of his prizes did not make him anxious to expedite his departure while this was uncertain, and his crew were without either wages or prize money. We have no reason to believe that he made any unnecessary delay, when the thorough repairs the Alliance underwent are considered. Four gentlemen, one

of whom was Mr. Arthur Lee, were desirous of coming out to America by that opportunity, and Jones had promised to "pay the most cheerful regard to their accommodation." Franklin also wished to send to the United States large supplies of arms and clothing, (15,000 stand of good arms, and 120 bales of public cloth,) of which Jones said, "he hoped to be able to cram a great part, if not the whole, into the Alliance." This could not have been done with any convenience, without a material change in the arrangement of that ship. On the 1st of March, Franklin wrote that M. Sartine desired a place for another passenger, and expressed a wish that room should be made for Mr. Brown of South Carolina. He added: "Captain Landais has demanded of me an order to you, to deliver him his trunks and things that were left on board the Alliance. I find him so exceedingly captious and critical, and so apt to misconstrue as an intended injustice, every expression in a language which he does not immediately understand, that I am tired of writing any thing for him or about him, and am determined to have nothing further to do with him. I make no doubt, however, that you will deliver his things to any person he may empower to receive them, and therefore think such an order unnecessary. * * * * Dr. Bancroft being by this time with you, will take all steps possible to promote your refitting, and forward the payment of the prize money. I do not comprehend what the weight of metal has to do with the division, unless when ships are fitted out by different armers. I hope your indisposition will soon be over, and your health re-established." On the 4th of the same month, Franklin wrote to the president of Congress, that Jones would carry the Alliance home, unless prevailed on to enter another service, which he did not think likely; that Landais had not applied to be replaced in her, and had expressed to him and to other persons his dissatisfaction with his officers, and his inclination on that account to leave her. This lunatic who was subject to be tried as an American officer, by a court martial, was also liable as a subject of France, and as holding its commission, to the summary jurisdiction exercised in that country.

When Franklin, in a letter addressed to Jones while the latter was at the Texel, alluded to the "concise operations" of the ministry, he probably had the Bastille in his mind. It is not probable that pains would have been taken to bring Landais, by an American court martial, or that he would have been further noticed, had not injudicious and officious individuals led him to adopt a course of conduct, which still further injured the service.

He was now, however, instigated by meddling individuals, and prompted by his own solemn vanity to ask, to be placed in the command of the Alliance. He wrote to this effect, on the 17th March. The answer of Franklin was plain and severe enough: "No one ever learned the opinion I formed of you from inquiry made into your conduct. I kept it entirely to myself. I have not even hinted it in my letters to America, because I would not hazard giving to any one a bias to your prejudice. By communicating *a part of that opinion* privately to you I can do no harm, for you may burn it. I should not give you the pain of reading it, if your demand did not make it necessary. I think you then, so imprudent, so litigious, and quarrelsome a man, even with your best friends, that peace and good order, and consequently the quiet and regular subordination so necessary to success, are, where you preside, impossible. These are within my observation and apprehension. Your military operations I leave to more capable judges. If, therefore, I had twenty ships of war in my disposition, I should not give one of them to Captain Landais. The same temper which *excluded* him from the French marine, would weigh equally with me. Of course I should not replace him in the Alliance."

Previous to the letter of Franklin, of March 4th, the board of admiralty had resolved to order the Alliance home, with such supplies as she could bring out. It had been judged necessary to detach four ships to guard the harbour of Charleston, which left the coasts exposed to the depredations of the enemy's armed vessels from New York. On the surrender of Charles-

ton in May following, these four frigates fell into the hands of the enemy.

On the 18th of March, Franklin wrote, that after his despatches should have been received, with some of the supplies, he knew of nothing to prevent Jones from proceeding immediately to such port in North America as he could reach with safety. He said: "I wish the prize money due to your people could be paid before you go. I have spoken often about it." He mentioned that it was thought doubtful whether any thing could be recovered by peaceable means, for the prizes surrendered in Norway. "The ships of war that you took are, I hear, to be valued, the king intending to purchase them; and the muster roll of the *Bon Homme Richard* is wanting in order to regulate the proportions to each ship. These things may take time. I have considered that the people of the *Bon Homme* may want some little supplies for the voyage; and therefore, if these proportions should not be regulated and paid before you sail, and you find it necessary, you may draw on me, as far as 24,000 livres to advance to them, for which they are to be accountable; but do not exceed that sum. I do this to prevent, as far as in me lies, the bad effect of any uneasiness among them; for I suppose that regularly all payments to seamen should be made at home." He added his wishes that Jones should join, if possible, the convoy which was to sail at the beginning of the next month, and sail with it until off the coast, but left it to his discretion and judgment. On the 1st of April, he forwarded to him an order for the delivery of the arms above referred to, and 100,000 pounds of gunpowder; and informed him that M. Le Ray de Chaumont had directed his correspondent at L'Orient, to advance 100,000 livres, for the Americans of the Alliance and *Bon Homme Richard*, on account. In relation to the distribution of the prize money, Franklin, the best authority, said in answer to the questions of the admiralty board, that no agreement had been made by him or on his behalf, with the armers of the ships acting in concert with the Alliance. That he supposed the division would be according to the laws of

France or America, as might be found most equitable; but that the captains had entered into an agreement, called the *concordat*, to divide according to the rules of America, under whose commissions and colours they acted. To this provision of the concordat, Jones, it will be remembered could have had no objection, as he had urged before its being signed the propriety of adopting an equal plan of distribution. Franklin, in the answer before referred to, gives a true and brief account of a long story, as follows. He says, that the officers and men of the Alliance "were encouraged by some meddling passengers to persist. The king would have taken the prizes, and paid for them, at the rate per gun, &c. as he pays for warlike vessels taken by his ships, but they raised a clamor at this, it being put into their heads that it was a project for cheating them, and they demanded a sale by auction. The minister, who usually gives more, when ships are taken for the king, than they will produce by auction, readily consented to this, when I asked it of him; but then this method required time to have them inventoried, advertised in different ports, to create a fuller concurrence of buyers, &c.; Captain Jones came up to Paris, to hasten the proceedings. In his absence Captain Landais, by the advice of Mr. Lee and Commodore Gillon, took possession of the ship, and kept her long in writing up to Paris, waiting answers, &c."

The matters above recapitulated must be referred to more in detail; but the reader will best understand from it the difficulties about the adjustment of claims for prize money.

The 100,000 livres, were not forth coming, with the instantaneity expected by Jones. On the 4th of April, Jones wrote to Franklin, "I fear that you will now find that M. Chaumont has imposed upon you, by promising what he has had no intention to perform. He has given me no means of advancing money here; and if the people remain much longer dissatisfied, I tremble, *and let him tremble too*, for the consequence. Besides the affairs mentioned in the written letter, he has made another proposition that an honest man would be ashamed of. I wait for something further by the next post, for I am very loth to

expose his conduct, and willing to give him time to repent." Such was the strong language which he used under immediate disappointment and misapprehension. While it requires insertion, it equally requires such explanation as can readily be given. Jones supposed M. Chaumont, the commissary, as he called him, to have money of the government in his hands or at command. The fact was, that he was largely in advance on his own account to the new republic; and that the offer to advance the 100,000 livres, was a voluntary one. It has already been mentioned that the correspondence between him and Jones, except as it was official, had ceased. What was meant by the "shameful" proposition spoken of is left for conjecture. It is certain that neither Franklin nor La Fayette ever found out any thing that was disgraceful in the conduct of M. de Chaumont. It also appears that the latter, having all the risk upon his own shoulders, wanted the business vouchers, which would at least be evidence of his advances, whether he could ever recover them or not. According to a memorandum given by Jones to M. de la Sartine on the 20th May, it appears that M. de Chaumont, wished the muster roll of the crew of the Bon Homme Richard to state the men's wages as commencing in June, when many of them had enlisted in February and March. At that time, those rated according to his request, had been paid. Objections were made also to the payment of 30,000 livres, to the crew of the Alliance, for the time during which they served under Jones on the expedition, which Franklin had not the appropriate funds to meet. Happily for the compiler, it is unnecessary to explore the reasons, or their merits, for these distinctions, or enter into calculations of dollars and cents. The only other letter of Jones from L'Orient at this time, was addressed to Dr. Bancroft, on the 7th of April. It is amusing as a specimen of those "machines" and "locks" which wanted "keys," which he alluded to in a letter to La Fayette, and which he was fond of manufacturing. "Judge of my surprise," he said, "when Mr. Bancroft assured me, that our man at the entrance of the garden, never changed any of his plans that *he*

had formed for me, until he found that they could not succeed. Is it possible that he, (Mr. B.) can have forgot, that he himself asked and obtained from me my ideas in writing, at the desire, as he told me, of the court, in June or July, 1778? He ought now to be sensible, that neither our man nor himself at that time appeared to know any thing about marine affairs. You may remember what I showed you on that subject; but that our man should have given my ideas to the minister as his own, is contemptible, and shows his real character. I have often repented that I consented to give some of my ideas in writing; but there is little danger that they will run away with the glory from me, by carrying them well into execution." Who "our man" was, the reader has a right to guess for himself. I am unable to do so.

Jones had now determined to go to Paris. In the fragment of a letter without date, ascertained from the contents to have been written in 1792, he says: "Though my crews were almost naked, and I had no money to administer to their wants, yet my constant applications to court for two months, produced no relief, no payment whatever, either for salary or prize money. I was on the point of sailing back to America without any appearance of obtaining justice; without the least acknowledgment direct or indirect, that the court was satisfied with my services! Under these circumstances, in a moment of despair, I came to court to demand satisfaction." The want of such an "acknowledgment" weighed undoubtedly much more with him than the consideration of any proportion of the prize money to which he was *personally* entitled. No intelligent person, on a review of his life and correspondence, (notwithstanding that his own inartificial protestations of disinterestedness, would, in ordinary cases, be read backwards,) will hesitate to believe, that he loved the voice of praise and breath of renown, immeasurably beyond "all Bokhara's vaunted gold." But, as it is unphilosophical to search for more than a sufficient cause for a common event, we see little sense in the speculations of Jones' biographers, as to the motives which led him to repair to Ver-

sailles ; and are content to take the word of Franklin and his own, that he went there to "hasten the proceedings" in relation to the prize money. In his Journal for the king, he says that, in consequence of the clamours among the officers and seamen, "after he had tried every thing that writing to Paris could do, without effect, he by the advice of many American gentlemen, then *à L'Orient*, went himself to court to demand that the prizes might be sold, and the seamen paid, agreeably to the laws and usages of the American flag." This permission was granted, and orders given to expedite the business of making out inventories, advertising, &c. mentioned by Franklin.

There is a discrepancy in Jones' accounts of this period, from a want of dates, and from some being general and others in detail. He could not have been mistaken, after the lapse of any number of years, as to his first reception by the minister. In the fragment quoted from, written in 1792, which is unquestionably in his own hand, he proceeds to say : "The minister of the United States accompanied me to M. de Sartine, who gave us a reception as cold as ice, did not say to me a civil word, nor even ask me if my health had not suffered from my wounds, and the uncommon fatigue I had undergone. The public did me more justice than the minister, and I owe to the king alone the flattering marks of distinction with which I was honoured." This first impression as to the minister's coldness was revived and expressed as above, in a moment of sickness and exasperation, and while writing angrily to another dilatory minister of marine. It is quoted from the draft, and there is no evidence that a copy was ever sent. Be this as it may, he said nothing about it in his answers, rendered a year after the transaction, to the questions by the board of admiralty. We quote part of the 30th answer, which may be reconciled with the other statement, by considering that it was unnecessary and impolitic to dwell minutely on the polar reception first given to him by M. de la Sartine, when a reference to it could only injure the public interest. And the cause of that frigidity is readily found. in the

manner in which Jones had expressed himself in relation to M. de Chaumont. To proceed to the answer :

“ M. le Ray de Chaumont had promised from day to day, to remit the government monies to L'Orient, for the payment of wages, and also 100,000 livres, in part of prize money, to be divided among the Americans of the squadron, then on board the Alliance ; but at last, instead of complying with either, he prevailed on the minister of the marine to order the Serapis to be valued in the French way, for account of the king, and without giving the captors any satisfaction whatever, or obtaining their leave or consent, the workmen in the port began to rip up the orlop deck, and all the interior work of that ship. Messrs. Gourlade and Moylan did not interfere to prevent this. Mr. Lee took much pains to persuade the people they had been sailing with me *in a privateer*, would be detained in Europe during the war, and get nothing at last. I found it impossible to reason them into good humour, so as to go to sea ; they positively declared they would not weigh anchor till they were fully paid, and wrote to this effect to Mr. Franklin. I was then greatly disgusted with the treatment that, *in appearance*, I had met with from M. de Sartine, but which in reality did not prove to be his fault, but that of M. le Ray de Chaumont. But as I saw no way of overcoming my difficulties by remaining at L'Orient, I with the advice of Mr. Samuel Wharton, and the majority of the Americans then assembled at L'Orient, waiting to proceed with me to America, went up to court to demand the free sale of our prizes, according to the laws of the American navy. Mr. Franklin went with me to the minister, who, contrary to my expectation, gave me the most friendly welcome, and sent immediate orders to publish the inventories, and advertise the sale of all the prizes. This, however, took up more time than had been imagined.”

To leave this dull business while we may : Jones became the temporary lion of Paris ; and enjoyed what heroes most dearly love from the principle of their nature, which makes them such—

the *reality* of fame—if the phrase may be used without absurdity. For every age produces as many heroes as Byron enumerates in his misanthropic introduction to an unclean, and luckily for morals, an unended extravaganza; and mankind could not remember them all, if they had nothing else to do but to repeat the starry and emblazoned roll. And as to the gifted vision which foresees its own immortality, few are so poor in judgment as not to know that

“Both bound together live and die,
The writing and the prophecy.”

But Jones was immediately connected with events, which, while we write our annals truly, must identify him honourably with the history of the world; and a man far less susceptible of being intoxicated by the cry of the million, and much better taught by experience, that the *hominum volitare per ora* is, in truth, *only* a volitation, would have seen, without being liable to the charge of vulgar vanity, in the honours conferred by the court, and the attentions of noblemen and noble ladies, the first fruits of an undying reputation. It is quaintly said, in the biography published in Edinburgh that, “the reception he personally met from many individuals among the higher classes of society and the leaders of fashion, when Americans and republicanism were the *infatuating novelties* of the day, must have been highly gratifying to his feelings, and to his insatiable love of distinction.”

This strangely “infatuating novelty” upset the throne of Charlemagne and all his successors. While I write, it threatens to hiss off the stage a Bourbon who is experimentally placed on it; it has disfranchised a hemisphere, that is, left its deliverance to be effected, whenever enlightened opinion shall be strong enough; has partially freed even Ireland; and in the good providence of God, whatever ages of agony and bloodshed may first intervene, all mankind will one day learn, that the “infatuating novelty” is as true as holy writ, that by proper education a people can govern themselves to more advantage,

than by superstitiously believing in the virtues of a hereditary monarchy. However, when hereditary monarchies are established, such impertinencies as that above quoted, are convenient and pardonable; though they cannot be truly said to be commendable.

In Jones' Journal for the king, and other formal narratives by himself, which we have followed to preserve chronology, there is of course no methodical account of the successive tokens of distinction which he received, though the references to them in his subsequent letters are frequent. It will be remembered that he was in correspondence with some of the principal actors of the day, those most in the public eye; and that, however, hard it may be to pay money for services justly rendered, it is both easy and agreeable to pay compliments. It was also natural that the people of France, who had heard of his exploits, should greet him as they did at theatres and in public places. The court and the community jointly and severally did him homage, and ladies smiled upon him. Except, however, in the correspondence of an anonymous fair one, named Delia, to be mentioned anon, of which fragments are preserved, there is nothing left, in print or manuscript, which is authentic, that is injurious to the fair fame of any lady, whose name is indicated by its initials or otherwise. If it be painful to destroy romance, it is no less necessary to tell the truth; and though nobody can doubt that Commodore Jones was anxiously and courteously entertained and caressed by noble and fashionable matrons, all that we have any foundation for saying, in relation to the matter, is best stated in the brief biographical notice of him in the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*: "He spoke several of the European languages; was a lover of music and poetry; played on different musical instruments; and used to write verses for the amusement of the Parisian ladies." These remarks would be out of place, were it not that so much has been idly written and imagined in relation to Jones' gallantries. The fact is, though it involves a speculation for which we have no time, that his chivalry was of the higher and holier order. He worshipped virtu-

ous women in the chamber of his imagination, as did the heroes and knights of classic and romantic poetry. Of his common frailties we know nothing, nor need we draw them from their dread abode. However this may be, his correspondence with the lady, known as Delia, began about this time, as appears from one of her letters. He had far more respectable female acquaintances.

Of his public reception, he says himself, that "he received at Paris, and other parts of the kingdom, the most flattering applause and public approbation wherever he appeared. Both the great and the learned sought his acquaintance in private life, and honoured him with particular marks of friendship. At court, he was always received with a kindness which could only have arisen from a fixed esteem."

Whatever were his honours or his distractions, during this month of May, Jones did not neglect improving the favourable terms on which he stood, for the benefit of his adopted country. He applied to, and obtained from government, to follow his Journal, "a loan of the Ariel of 20 guns, to assist the Alliance to transport a large quantity of clothing, &c. to America, then ready to be sent for the army under the command of General Washington. He had already embarked on board the Alliance the cannon he had provided for the Bon Homme Richard, but which had arrived at L'Orient too late for that ship, besides a quantity of muskets and powder. And a cartel having arrived with American prisoners from England, had enabled him to leave behind near four hundred seamen on board the Alliance. So that he could have spared a crew for the Ariel without any expense or loss of time. It was his intention to arm the Ariel *en flute*, and to carry a considerable part of the clothing in the Alliance. Finding the sales of the prize protracted much beyond his expectations, he endeavoured, but without success, to obtain some advance for his officers and crew, to enable them to proceed for America; and the latter end of May, took leave of their majesties, the court, and his friends at Paris." The king had ordered that the commodore should be presented with

a gold sword, and that he should, with the permission of Congress, receive the cross of military merit, a decoration conferred previously on those only who had distinguished themselves in the proper service of France. A letter from Sartine of the 30th, announced these offers; declared the king's perfect satisfaction with the commodore's actions, and disposition to receive him again with pleasure, should he be sent on any new expedition to Europe. From Franklin also he had an honourable testimonial of his "bravery and conduct," solicited by himself, though, as the ambassador remarked, "his actions were more effectual recommendations, and rendered any from him unnecessary." According to Mr. Sherburne's dates, the consent of the king to allow one of his vessels to accompany the Alliance, was not formally given until the 30th of June. This must be an error. On the first of that month, Jones received directions from Franklin to carry into effect the resolution of the admiralty board, requiring the return of that vessel, with all due expedition; and on the 4th, W. Franklin enclosed him a copy of a letter from M^r. de Sartine, which stated that the commissary and commandant at L'Orient had orders from the minister, to render every assistance in their power to facilitate his departure.

But there was a fatality attending the departures of Jones from port; and it seems as if procrastination, irritation, and the tension of patience were ordained to give velocity and energy to his career, when he was at last afloat on the free ocean *en large*. That "singularly wild" and disagreeable chevalier Landais, had been at L'Orient during Jones' absence, and with the help of mischievous prompters and counsellors, aided by the discontent which prevailed among the officers on account of not receiving prize money or pay, had resolved to retain the command of the Alliance. Had not this happened, Jones says, "every thing was prepared, and, the Ariel being copper bottomed, he would have sailed for America a week after his return from Paris."

On the 12th of April previous, the officers of the Alliance had addressed Franklin, informing him of their necessitous circum-

stances, and that they were alarmed at receiving neither wages nor prize money, when the ship was so nearly prepared for sea. In his reply of the 7th of June, he told them that, having nothing to do with the prizes, he had advanced the 24,000 livres before spoken of, for their immediate wants ; and that as to wages, he thought they should be expected at home. He told them, that in consequence of being frequently informed from L'Orient, that the proposed method of valuing the prizes excited discontent, he had procured a consent that they should be sold at public auction ; which necessarily required time, unless they were to be sacrificed. He thought the method first proposed would have been most beneficial to them. In answer to their inquiry, whether nothing had been received from the prizes sent to Norway, he told them, that he had sent a memorial to the Danish court, with the reply to which he was not satisfied ; that the matter was before Congress ; and should any thing be recovered, strict justice should be done them. He expressed his surprise that, after the complaints he had received from them a year previous against Landais, and the statement of the latter at that time, that they were all joined together against him, he, who had been at Paris merely, as he professed, to vindicate himself and obtain an order for his own property on board of the Alliance, should desire to resume the command, and that they should again wish to sail under him. He said, "I have related exactly to Congress the manner of his leaving the ship, and though I declined any judgment of his manœuvres in the fight, I have given it as my opinion, (to Congress,) after examining the affair, that it was not at all likely, either that he should have given orders to fire into the Bon Homme Richard, or that his officers would have obeyed such an order had it been given them. Thus I have taken what care I could of your honour in that particular. You will, therefore, excuse me if I am a little concerned for it in another. If it should come to be publicly known that you had the strongest aversion to Captain Landais, who had used you basely, and that it is only since the last year's cruise, and the appointment of Commodore Jones to the com-

mand, that you request to be again under your old captain, I fear suspicions and reflections may be thrown upon you by the world, as if this change of sentiment may have arisen from your observation during the cruise, that Captain Jones loved close fighting, that Captain Landais was skilful in keeping out of harm's way, and that you therefore thought yourselves safer with the latter. For myself, I believe you to be brave men, and lovers of your country and its glorious cause; and I am persuaded you have only been ill advised, and misled by the artful and malicious misrepresentations of some persons I guess at. Take in good part this friendly counsel from an old man who is your friend. Go home peaceably with your ship. Do your duty faithfully and cheerfully. Behave respectfully to your commander, and I am persuaded he will do the same to you. Thus you will not only be happier in your voyage, but recommend yourselves to the future favours of Congress and of your country."

On the same day, he wrote peremptorily to Landais, expressing his astonishment that the latter should be at L'Orient, when he had thought him long before on his voyage to America for trial; to enable him to do which, he had been furnished with a considerable sum of money.* Landais had coolly written on the 29th May, that "he had been waiting for Franklin's orders ever since, to retake the command of the Alliance!" The minister said: "I waive any further dispute with you; but I charge you not to meddle with the command, or create any disturbance on board her, as you will answer the contrary at your peril." But Landais had got *an opinion* from Mr. Arthur Lee, who had a taste for "constitutional construction," that he might treat the minister's orders with silent contempt, or, in the slang of the present day, *nullify* them. The majority of the officers and crew had also been too well deluded

* Landais had actually made a written application to Captain Bell for a passage in the merchant ship *Luzerne*, that he might return quickly to America for trial.—*Journal for the King*

during the absence of their commander, by representations that he was neglecting or compounding their rights at court, while he was enjoying all the honours of their victory. Jones said, himself, at the time : " I have been to blame for having returned to Paris, without having absolutely insisted on the previous payment of my men." He would have insisted to no purpose. The change in the mode of assessing the value of the prizes, left the court not responsible immediately ; and M. Chaumont was unable to pay in anticipation of their sale.

The sailors became peremptory in their demands. On the 12th June, we find Franklin writing to Jones : " Saturday morning I received a letter signed by about 115 of the sailors of the Alliance, declaring that they would not raise the anchor, nor depart from L'Orient, till they had six months' wages paid them, and the utmost farthing of the prize money, including the ships sent into Norway, and until *their legal captain, P. Landais*, was restored to them. This mutiny has undoubtedly been excited by that captain ; probably by making them believe that satisfaction has been received for those Norway prizes delivered up to the English. * * * * That he is concerned in this mutiny he has been foolish enough to furnish us with proofs ; the sailors' letter being not only enclosed under a cover directed to me in his handwriting, but he also, in the same writing, interlined the words, *their legal captain, P. Landais*, which happens to contain his signature. I immediately went to Versailles to demand the assistance of government, and on showing the letter, by which his guilt plainly appeared, an order was immediately granted, and sent away the same evening, for apprehending and imprisoning him, and orders were promised to be given at the same time to the commissary of the port to afford you all kind of assistance to facilitate your departure. M. Chaumont being with me, and assisting warmly in obtaining these orders. We thought it best at the same time, to give directions that those sailors who have signed this letter should not be favoured with receiving any part of the money ordered to be advanced, in part of what it is supposed the *Serapis* and Coun-

tess may be sold for, unless such as express their sorrow for having been so misled, and willingness to do their duty. And that they may be known, their title was sent down to M. de Marplanir. But care should be taken that it be returned, as it contains the proofs above mentioned against Landais, who will probably be tried for his life ; being considered by the minister as an emigrant without the king's permission, and therefore still a Frenchman, and when in France, still subject to its laws."

All of this letter ought to be inserted, did space permit. We can only add that Franklin recommended, in case difficulties should arise to prevent the produce of the sales being known, and part advanced, before Jones was ready to sail with the *Ariel* in company, those who would not trust to their country for justice should be put on shore, and left to wait at their own expense. He concluded : " You are likely to have great trouble. I wish you well through it. You have shown your abilities in fighting ; you have now an opportunity of showing the other necessary part in the character of a great chief—your abilities in policy."

Up to this period, whatever might have been done in secret cabal, no open disrespect had been shown to Jones. He states* that he had been on board of the *Alliance* for a considerable part of the time after his return from Versailles, and " had always been well received and duly obeyed." But finding that " his commission and authority had been called in question," he ordered the former as well as Franklin's orders to be read on board, on the morning of the 12th June, for the satisfaction of all present. What amounted to a mutiny occurred in consequence. The fact is, there can be no doubt, that while bent on doing his duty, Jones had not had his imagination free from the effects of the public honours he had received at Paris ; and that it was not in his nature to pry into the views and schemes of those whom circumstances made his inferiors. His

* In a letter to Franklin of June 13th, the day after the mutiny.

thoughts or dreams, if that be the better phrase, about his own renown, did not interfere with his strenuous efforts to sustain and increase it, but on the contrary concentrated those efforts. A man of more common mind might have sought after and eagerly listened to reports of what was going on in the *kitchen*, and counteracted vulgar intrigue by conciliation. However this may be, he was mistaken as to the influence which was predominant on board. On the morning of the 13th of June, he went on shore to make arrangements with the commandant for despatching the *Ariel*, and Landais went on board, declaring that he came to take command of the ship, and would support himself by force against any person who should dispute his authority. He had written to Lieutenant Degge, as lieutenant in command on board the frigate *Alliance*, ordering him to keep the command of the frigate from any one who should seek to take it, contrary to the resolve of Congress, and to his prejudice, until he should receive an answer from his excellency Dr. Franklin, on the reception of which he would take the command. He added: "I expect Dr. Franklin can't deny it to me, unless he has an order to the contrary from Congress." This letter had been dictated by some of the "meddling passengers," and was read to the crew by Lieutenant Degge.

Finding that Landais had taken possession, by the advice of the commandant of the marine and commandant of the road, Jones wrote to Franklin by express, on the afternoon of the day on which what may be called the mutiny occurred. He said: "Several of the brave officers who served with me in the *Bon Homme Richard*, have already been treated with indignity on board; and my first lieutenant, Mr. Dale, this moment tells me, that he and some others have been turned ashore. Before I came ashore this forenoon, the crew being assembled, I demanded whether any of them could say a word to my disadvantage? They answered, they could not. There was then every appearance of general contentment and subordination. I am certain that the people love and would readily obey me." He was obeying Franklin's last verbal instructions, to act in con-

cert with the commandants above mentioned. He was nearly ready to sail with both vessels, with the arms and clothing properly bestowed; and there is not much doubt that the crews would readily have sailed with him, had the malign influence been removed, which so balefully governed them. Let us hear a *screed* of doctrine about constitutional construction and nullification, delivered in anticipation, and which will hold water rather better than others we have had, since we have had a constitution. The special pleading is good; and must have refreshed the souls of the ragged mutineers particularly. Mr. Arthur Lee thus wrote to Jones, on the 13th.

"SIR,

"When you showed me yesterday, the authorities under which you conceive you had a right to command the Alliance frigate, I told you it was not in my power to give you an opinion upon them without seeing those of Captain Landais; and that I would not give an opinion in this matter, but in writing. Since that I have seen the authorities of Captain Landais, and I now shall state them both, with my opinion upon them; which I hope may be of use in preventing any further contest, which cannot but be disgraceful and injurious to the service, as well as to those who are in the wrong.

"The authorities you showed me, consisted of a commission from Congress, appointing you a captain in the marine of the United States, and a late order from Dr. Franklin to you to take command of the Alliance, and carry her where she is ordered by the admiralty. This order from Dr. Franklin does not recite or allege any power from Congress to take the command from Captain Landais, and put another in his place.

"The authorities Captain Landais laid before me, were a commission from Congress, like yours, appointing him captain in the service; a resolve of Congress giving him the command of the Alliance frigate; and a letter of instructions for that purpose from the marine committee.

"From these documents it is clear, beyond a possibility of

doubt, that Captain Landais commands that ship under the full, direct, and express order of Congress ; and that no such authority appears to dismiss him from the command. In this situation, Captain Landais must answer at his peril for the frigate entrusted to him till he receives an order of Congress to deliver her to another. If any such order exists, those who have it do infinite wrong to the service in not producing it, to prevent any disturbance. If there is no such order, the subjects of the United States who attempt to divest Captain Landais of the command he holds from the sovereign power, or to disturb him by violence in the exercise of it, commit a high crime against the laws and sovereignty of the United States and subject themselves to a proportionable punishment.

“ This, sir, is my opinion, founded upon a cool and candid consideration of the authorities on both sides ; which alone ought to determine our judgment and our actions. You are at liberty to show this letter to whom you please, or to send it to Dr. Franklin. Should it prevail upon you to urge this matter no farther till you know whether there is authority of Congress for what you are doing, I shall think I have rendered no less service to you personally, in preventing you from committing a rash and illegal action, than to the public, the honour of which must be committed by such a contest in a foreign port. When I see such things threatened, my duty to my country, and the love of law and order, call upon me to do whatever is in my power to prevent them.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

This valuable opinion of Mr. Lee did not come into Jones' hands until a week after his date. The latter, in his letter to the commandant of the port, called on him for support, as he had not sufficient force to assert his own rights, and did not wish to have a *scene* with Landais. The letter was probably more for form's sake than otherwise ; for an open affray would have been discreditable to the American flag, and injurious to the character of the nation. Jones went *incognito*, as he says

in his journal, to Versailles, "to explain what had happened," and returned with all possible expedition. On the 16th, we find Franklin very briefly and peremptorily writing to Landais and to the officers of the Alliance, commanding obedience to his former and present orders. On the 17th, he wrote to Jones, who was then on his way to court, that "having been informed by several gentleman, of and from L'Orient, that it was there generally understood, that the mutiny on board his ship had been advised or promoted by the Honourable Arthur Lee, whom he had ordered Jones to receive as a passenger, he thereby withdrew that order so far as to leave it to Jones' discretion." He added, that this need not obstruct Mr. Lee's return to America, as there were several ships going under Jones' convoy, and many of the passengers might prefer changing places. Contemporaneously, for I do not find the dates, fourteen of the officers of the Alliance addressed Franklin, representing that they believed the ship's crew were unanimously in favour of Captain Landais, and that they believed him a capable officer, whose conduct in the engagement off Scarborough had been misrepresented; and that they thought themselves bound to obey him, according to the rules and regulations of the navy. The wise opinion of Mr. Lee and those deluded men, is best exposed by the questions put at the time by Dr. Franklin to Mr. Adams, which involve their own inevitable answers. They were, in brief, whether Landais, accused of capital crimes by his commanding officer, after having relinquished command of the frigate, asked leave to withdraw his effects, solicited and received money from the minister to bear his expenses to America, where he was to be tried, and applied for a passage in a private ship, was entitled at his pleasure to

retake command of the frigate, contrary to the express orders of the same minister, which he was instructed to obey ; “ and to dispossess his successor, the oldest naval officer of the United States in Europe, who had commanded that frigate near eight months, and brought to the port where she then was ? ” The other questions, equally irresistible, related to the propriety of the conduct of Landais, and the policy of suffering him to retain the command.

Landais, however, and his constitutional advisers, got off, by a forbearance on the part of Jones, dictated by wise and prudential considerations, at a moment when indignation might have thrown the reins loose without reproach. Orders from government were sent to L'Orient, to arrest Landais as a French subject, (and he might have been most unconstitutionally provided for,) and to stop the Alliance. Jones' letter written after his return from Versailles, best explains the intermediate transactions, and the motives of his conduct.

“ *L'Orient, June 21, 1780.* ”

“ SIR,

“ I was detained at Versailles forty hours from the time of my arrival, and was then informed by M. de Genet, that an express had been sent from court with the necessary orders to the king's officers at L'Orient, respecting Captain Landais and the Alliance. I found myself here early yesterday morning, fifty-four hours after leaving Versailles. The Alliance had, the evening and night before, been warped and towed from the road of L'Orient to Port Louis ; and no express from court had arrived here. M. de Thevenard, the commandant, however, made every necessary preparation to stop the Alliance, as appears by the enclosed document on the subject. He had even sent orders in the evening, before I was aware, to fire on the Alliance, and sink her to the bottom, if they attempted to approach and pass the barrier that had been made across the entrance of the port. Had I even remained silent *an hour* longer, the dreadful work would have been done. Your

humanity will, I know, justify the part I acted in preventing a scene that would have rendered me miserable for the rest of my life. The Alliance has this morning been towed and warped through the rocks, and is now at anchor without, between Port Louis and Groix. In this situation I at noon sent out Lieutenant Dale with a letter to Captain Landais, whereof the within is a copy.

"Yesterday morning the within letter was brought me from Mr. Lee, though I had never even hinted that his opinion or advice would be acceptable. He has, however, pulled off the mask, and I am convinced, is not a little disappointed that his operations have produced no bloodshed between the subjects of France and America. Poor man!

"Yesterday every thing that persuasion or threatening could effect was attempted. [He mentions a conciliatory letter sent to Captain Parke, of the marines, to which no answer was ever received.]

"M. de Thevenard, on his part, sent the deputy of M. Sweighauser on board with your letters, *under his own cover*, to Captain Landais, and to the officers and men of the Alliance. The one was delivered to Captain Landais, the other to Lieutenant Digges. M. de Thevenard also sent on board an officer with the king's order to arrest Captain Landais, who refused to surrender himself. Mr. Lee and his party pretend to justify their measures, because they say you did not put Captain Landais under arrest. According to them, you cannot displace him, however great his crimes! If the government does not interfere to crush this despicable party, France and America have much to fear from it. I verily believe them to be *English* at the bottom of their hearts.*

"N. B. Mr. Dale has this moment brought me, the within impertinent note from Captain Landais."

* In a marginal note, affixed to this letter, many years afterwards, Jones says, "In this opinion I was not singular, though perhaps I was mistaken."

The letter to Landais, referred to in the foregoing, was a demand of the seamen who had served on board the *Bon Homme Richard*, requesting that they might be delivered on board the boats sent by the commandant and commissary of the marine, with the baggage, stores, and barge of Jones. The impertinent reply I do not find.

Except under the immediate influence of the instinct, which teaches us to avoid sudden danger or death, and not always then, there is no such thing as singleness of motive in our nature. It is not untrue, that the best men may find something in the misfortunes of their best friends, to console them partially for the event. Jones would have taken command of the *Alliance*, and set sail with her at all hazards, if a disgraceful scene could have been avoided; or if he could have enforced obedience on board. As it was, we find him very coolly and persuasively urging upon Franklin by the next post, (June 23d,) the advantage which would result from asking government for a loan of the *Serapis*. He had learned that this ship had been sold for 240,000 livres. Five or six hundred tons weight of public stores were to be transported to America; and after filling up the *Ariel*, four hundred would remain. M. Chaumont, (owing to the concordat,) had altogether miscalculated, and was unacquainted with marine affairs. The *Serapis* would be masted and fitted in a very short time; and no suitable merchant ship could be had at any of the ports. He proposed, therefore, to arm her, *en flute*, and the *Ariel* for war. Three hundred men would be sufficient for both ships, whom he thought there would be no difficulty in obtaining from those on shore, on board of the *Alliance*, and volunteer soldiers, waiting at their own expense, to serve again under his command. On arriving in America, the *Serapis* might be fully armed, and, with the *Ariel* and other continental ships, execute one of the projects he had submitted to government.

Will it be wondered at, that the conqueror of the *Serapis*, who had, as it may be said, allowed that fine ship to be taken from under him, to preserve the credit of the flag to which she

struck, and who now saw her near him, liable to pass into unlineal hands, while many of the brave crew who had captured her, were also on the spot, anxious to serve under him again, should cast a longing, lingering, look upon her? Or is it surprising, that his heart was not broken, because the crazy Landais had usurped command of a discontented crew, misled and prejudiced as they were, and encouraged to open revolt by a semi-official, pragmatistical foe of Franklin, and expounder of unasked for "opinions?" The reader will think not; and when he considers that Jones was panting always for action, will not marvel that he did not over-much regret the expediency of resigning such a charge as that of conducting the Alliance home.

Landais, among his other "light amusements," had had the solemn impudence to write several letters, demanding payment of the prize money due to the people of the Alliance, and complained, on the 16th, "that time was lost by the delay." In the letter Franklin condescended to write to him on the 24th, he informed him that his two first prizes were Swedish ships, for the illegal capture of which heavy damages were demanded; that another was a brigantine from Ireland, under the king's passport, which he apprehended had been, or would be, adjudged not a good prize; that nothing had been received for the prizes sent into Norway; and that, as the Serapis and Countess of Scarborough had not been sold at the date of his last letter, none of the produce of such sale could be in his hands, *or in the hands of any body*. He told him, he was aware that his letters were written with the view of their being read in America; and we may guess who dictated them.

The former officers of the Bon Homme Richard, at the same time, (June 26th,) solemnly besought Franklin not to entertain the idea, that the Americans at L'Orient approved of the behaviour of Landais and his advisers; and stated, that beside the risk of ruining the measures adopted for the transportation of clothing, &c. merchandise to the amount of two millions of livres, which was to have been despatched under convoy, was

put in peril by the usurpation of Landais. They paid a most exalted tribute to Jones, in expressing the confidence they would have felt, had he commanded according to the regular instructions of the minister.

On the 27th, Franklin wrote to Jones, in reply to his letter of the 23d, suggesting that a loan of the *Serapis* might be asked for. He had not received that of the 21st, giving an account of the particular circumstances under which the *Alliance* left port. "I only knew," he said, "by other means, that the *Alliance* is gone out of the port ; and that you are not likely to recover, and have relinquished the command of her. So that affair is over ; and the business is now, to get the goods out as well as we can. I am perfectly bewildered with the different schemes that have been proposed to me for this purpose, by Mr. Williams, Mr. Ross, yourself, and M. de Chaumont. Mr. Williams was for purchasing ships ; I told him I had not the money, but he still urges it. You and Mr. Ross proposed borrowing the *Ariel* ; I joined in the application for that ship. We obtained her. She was to convey all that the *Alliance* could not take. Now you find her insufficient. An additional ship has already been asked, and could not be obtained. I think, therefore, it will be best that you take as much into the *Ariel* as you can, and depart with it. For the rest I must apply to the government to contrive some means of transporting it in their own ships. This is my present opinion ; and when I have once got rid of this business, no consideration shall tempt me to meddle again with such matters, as I never understood them."

Thus, treating the "affair as over," the minister wrote to the commanding officer, for the time being, of the *Alliance*, to take on board such munitions of war, as were ready to be delivered, and to deliver them at Philadelphia to the board of admiralty. The course we have taken requires here the insertion entire of Jones' letter to the Hon. Robert Morris, of the same date, involving a little repetition, but throwing much light on the subjects in question, and withal characteristic of the writer, and worthy of him.

" L'Orient, June 27, 1780.

" HONOURED AND DEAR SIR,

" I have deferred writing to you since my return to this kingdom, because I had orders myself to return in the Alliance immediately to Philadelphia. I was under a necessity of going to court in April, to procure the free sale of the Serapis and our other prizes, and was received by the royal family, government, and people, with that open-armed affection that so nobly marks the character of this generous-minded nation. His majesty ordered a superb sword to be made for me, with an inscription in Latin on the blade, that would do honour to the greatest admiral in history. The king directed his minister to write a special letter to the president of Congress, expressing, in the strongest terms, his personal esteem towards me, with his entire approbation of my conduct, particular desire to promote my future success, and to see me again at his court, &c. To this his majesty was pleased to add a letter to his minister M. le Chevalier de Luzerne, directing him to ask permission of Congress, to invest me with the order of military merit ; an honour that was never before offered to a stranger who had not actually served either in the army or navy of France. I returned here, being charged with the despatches of government, and having obtained the king's ship Ariel to assist, with the Alliance, in transporting to America the supply of arms and clothing that is now here, and so much wanted in our armies. The Luzerne and several other merchant vessels with cargoes, amounting to 2,000,000 livres, were waiting for my convoy. But to the astonishment of every person, on the 13th of this month, Captain Landais went on board the Alliance, while I was on shore with the commandant of the marine, to take measures for the despatch of the Ariel, and declared he came to take the command. I made an immediate application to the commandant, not choosing to have any particular dispute with Captain Landais, after the charges I had given in against him, and for which, with the approbation of this government, Dr. Franklin had displaced him seven months before, and given him money

to bear his expenses to America for trial. I was advised to send an express with the account immediately to court. I went up myself, and returned in six days. I found the Alliance at the entrance of Port Louis, and every necessary disposition was made to stop her from going out, agreeable to the within document; but my humanity would not suffer me to remain a silent witness of bloodshed between the allied subjects of France and America. My having prevented that scene of horror, has been, I am persuaded, no small disappointment to the wicked hearts and empty heads of Captain Landais' two principal advisers; such a scene would have been an excellent ground of argument for the tools of England against France. One of these two would-be great men will now have his carriage, baggage, and family, transported from hence in the space on board the Alliance, that should have been occupied by the soldiers' clothing; while the red ribboned commodore has taken advantage of the confusion, and inveigled away from the continental service a number of seamen, that I had redeemed from English dungeons, and fed for three months on board the Alliance, in order to man the Ariel. The brave men who so gloriously served with me in the Bon Homme Richard, are now confined as prisoners in the hold of the Alliance, and treated with every mark of indignity. I had destined them to complete a crew for the Ariel, and have demanded them in vain for that purpose.

"I cannot see where all this will end; but surely it must fall dreadfully on the heads of those who have stirred up this causeless mutiny. For my own part, I shall make no other remark than that I never directly nor indirectly sought after the command of the Alliance; but after having in obedience to orders commanded her for seven months, and after Mr. Lee had made a written application to me as commander of that ship, for a passage to America, I am at a loss what name to give Mr. Lee's late conduct and duplicity, in stirring up a mutiny in favour of a man who was at first sent to America contrary to Mr. Lee's opinion, by Mr. Dean, and who is actually under

arrest, by order of his sovereign. What gives me the greatest pain is, that after I had obtained from government the means of transporting to America, under a good protection, the arms and clothing I have already mentioned, Mr. Lee should have found means to defeat my intentions. I thank God I am of no party, and have no brothers or relations to serve ; but I am convinced that Mr. Lee has acted in this matter merely because I would not become the enemy of the venerable, the wise, and good Franklin, whose heart, as well as head, does, and will always, do honour to human nature.

“ I know the great and good in this kingdom better, perhaps, than any other American who has appeared in Europe since the treaty of alliance ; and if my testimony could add any thing to Franklin’s reputation, I could witness the universal veneration and esteem with which his name inspires all ranks, not only at Versailles and all over this kingdom, but also in Spain and Holland. And I can add from the testimony of the first characters of other nations, that with them envy itself is dumb when the name of Franklin is but mentioned.

“ You will bear me witness, my worthy friend, that I never asked a favour for myself from Congress ; for you have seen all my letters, and know that I never sought any indirect influence, though my ambition to act an eminent and useful part in this glorious revolution is unbounded. I pledge myself to you, and to America, that my zeal receives new ardour from the opposition it meets with, and I live but to overcome them, and to prove myself no mock patriot, but a true friend to the rights of human nature upon principles of disinterested philanthropy. Of this I have already given some proofs, and I will give more ; let not, therefore, the virtuous senate of America be misled by the insinuations of fallen ambition. Should any thing be said to my disadvantage, all I ask is a suspension of judgment until I can appear before Congress to answer for myself.

“ I repeat, that I am determined to steer clear of party, and to keep within my line of duty as an officer. Deeply sensible

of the obligations I owe to your friendship, and ardently wishing to merit the affection of every good American.

"I am, dear sir, with the highest esteem and respect,

"Your most obliged,

"And very humble servant,

"JNO. P. JONES."

N. B. I will do my utmost to return immediately to America. I return you my best thanks for your letter of the 4th November.

The following official letter, which M. de Sartine addressed to Jones on the 28th, needs insertion, because it *was* official, and was despatched at the right moment, being well calculated to remove whatever feelings of mortification Jones might have been supposed to labour with.

"Versailles, June 28, 1780.

"SIR,

"The king, sir, has already made known his satisfaction with the zeal and valour, which you have displayed in Europe, in support of the common cause of the United States of America, and his majesty, and he has also informed you of the distinguished proofs he is disposed to give you thereof. Persuaded that the United States will give their consent that you should receive the cross of the order of military merit, I send you in the accompanying packet addressed to M. de la Luzerne, the one designed for you. You will be pleased to deliver him this packet, and he will see that the honour is conferred by a knight of the order, agreeably to his majesty's orders. But at any rate, that you should have a proof of the king's approbation and munificence, his majesty has ordered a gold sword to be made for you, which will be sent to you forthwith, and he has the greatest confidence in the use you will make of it for his glory and that of the United States. "I have the honour to be, &c.)

"To M. Paul Jones,
Commodore of the U. S. Navy, at L'Orient."

The gold sword has been spoken of before in this text, but probably this was the first time Jones had heard of it; and it would not have quickened his desire to depart. He loved not baubles, but he dearly loved what they meant and passed for in France.

On the 28th, Jones tried the effect of another imperative letter to Captain Landais, with directing him not to sail or put to sea, before receiving instructions from himself, the "senior and superior officer of the navy of the United States in Europe," and to send eighty of the best riggers, with all the joiners forthwith, from the Alliance, to rig and prepare the Ariel. Lieut. M. Livingston undertook to deliver this letter. To this request Landais replied, addressing the commodore simply as, "John Paul Jones, Esq. at L'Orient—I send the under named people on shore, being such as I do not find necessary for the service of the United States of America on board this ship; if you have any authority for taking them, you will do it." The names of twenty-two persons are added, of five of whom Landais remarks, "these are prisoners of yours." On the 29th, Jones wrote to him, "the boat returns for the remainder of the men, mentioned in my order of yesterday." The following N. B. is added; "Captain Landais ordered the bearer of this letter to remain in the boat alongside the Alliance, and hold this open, with the writing towards him." Having seen it, he ordered the boat to be gone.

The Alliance then sailed. Jones says in his Journal, that when he begged the barrier of the port might be removed, the commandant called the principal officers together, who signed a paper, "stating the preparations which had been made, and expressing their admiration of the conduct of Captain Jones." All his papers and trunks sent ashore were found broken open, and the best part of his effects were detained, or destroyed on board the Alliance. The people who adhered to him in that ship, and refused to weigh anchor, were confined and carried away in irons. He was left without a crew for the Ariel, and was unable to embark the clothing.

In the middle of the following month, we find the commodore thus writing to a lady, whose name is not mentioned.

“MADAM,

“When one is conscious of having been in fault, I believe it is the best way to confess it, and to promise amendment. This being my case with respect to you, madam, I am too honest to attempt to excuse myself; and, therefore, cast myself at your feet and beg your forgiveness, on condition that I behave better hereafter. For shame, Paul Jones! how could you let the fairest lady in the world, after writing you two letters, wait so long for an answer! Are you so much devoted to war, as to neglect wit and beauty? I make myself a thousand such reproaches, and believe I punish myself as severely as you would do, madam, were you present here.

“The truth is, I have been willing that the extraordinary events that have taken place here with respect to the frigate *Alliance*, should be communicated to you rather by others, than by myself; for though, God knows, I have not been to blame for these events, yet I have felt rather ashamed that they should have happened; the more so as the cause has been rather of a delicate nature. I will mention it, however, to you.” He then states, that M. de Chaumont had, up to that moment, unjustly retained from the crew every sol of their wages and shares of prizes, and that certain persons had persuaded them that he himself concurred in such measures.

On the 24th, he wrote to Madame Tellison. What would be repetition is omitted.

“MADAM,

“When you did me the honour to ask my promise to write to you a particular account of my services in this revolution and of my late expedition, I thought myself very happy, indeed, in enjoying that pleasing proof of your attention; and it was my firm intention to have fulfilled my promise with you on that

head, immediately after my return here. Had I undertaken to write my own history to a lady of a less elevated mind than Madam T——, I should have run too great a risk, especially in what relates to my last battle ; many circumstances of which are not yet known to the world, and are of such a nature as not to be believed by an ordinary mind, upon the evidence of an individual. With you, madam, I have not the remotest doubt, and the extraordinary event that took place here, with respect to the Alliance, is the only reason that has withheld my pen. I confess to you, I feel rather ashamed that such an event should have happened ; although, God knows, it was not owing to any fault of mine. * * * * I had disapproved the conduct of M. le Ray de Chaumont so much as neither to speak nor write to him after my return to France. My sole business at court was to obtain the free sale of the prizes, which I effected. * * * * I know that soon after my arrival in America, Congress will render me impartial justice. I will then have the happiness to furnish you with the account I promised, and the circumstances will be supported by the fullest evidence. I dare promise that it will then appear that I have only been to blame for having returned here from Paris, without having insisted absolutely on the previous payment of my men. Money is essential in war : in love, you will tell me, perhaps, the case may be otherwise. I have still in contemplation to return to France soon after I arrive in America, for I have the most ardent desire to give the court, the nation, and my friends, farther proofs of my gratitude, by my services in the glorious cause of freedom that France has so nobly espoused in concert with America.”

On the 28th, he wrote to the Marquise de la Fayette : “ I am once more nearly ready for sea. If I can in any respect render you acceptable services, you know I have so much esteem and respect for yourself, and so much affectionate friendship for your husband, that you will, I hope, command me freely. I expect to embrace the marquis about the first of October ; and it is not impossible, that we may return together to France. Believe me, I am, with great sincerity and regard, &c.”

These letters to three ladies, are the only letters found written by Jones in the month of July, which are before the compiler. He was soon, however, busily engaged in writing to the French ministers, and those who had access to, or influence with them. Jones laid his projects before them again; and again strenuously and not indecorously applied for employment in what his soul most sighed after, an expedition after his own heart; in which he should have no *concordat* to control him, no sage peers to neutralise his purposes. He could not expect any such command from Congress, even on the most modest scale. He endeavoured to avail himself of his reputation, and the influence it might create for him, in every direction, to obtain such a force as might enable him hopefully to attempt some one of those schemes, with which his ardent ambition was teeming; which, if it did not "strike a blow that should resound through the universe," would sensibly affect the nerves of the imaginary ocean queen; and teach her, that if she had *rebels*, *pirates*, and *privateers* to deal with, they were of no common sort.

If circumstances did not permit him to sail with the *Ariel* at this precise time, (and they were beyond his control,) we cannot suppose that he found them altogether painful. That "he often took leave, yet was loath to depart," may be true; but it was not his fault that the departure did not take place.

We cannot omit his letter to the Count of Vergennes, dated the 2d August.

"MY LORD,

"I should be unworthy of the illustrious marks that I have lately received of the royal favour, if I were not constantly impressed with the most ardent zeal to merit the continuance of his majesty's approbation, by an invariable attention to the mutual interests of France and America. Although my departure for America has been protracted by unforeseen events, it is not yet too late for government to pray the Congress that I may, during the remainder of this war, be constantly employed

on active and useful services, tending to distract and distress the common enemy. After having been so highly honoured by the kind attentions of the king's ministers, and their approbation of my poor services, I am convinced that I shall still find such support and protection from this government, as may enable me to prove my gratitude by my future actions.

" Since I had the honour of laying before your excellency, in the month of May last, my project for future expeditions, the events of the war have not so altered circumstances as to render my ideas inexpedient ; on the contrary, the farther the war advances, I am the more confirmed in the utility that would result to the common cause from such services as I have therein hinted at. I was then happy in finding that your excellency approved of my ideas ; it is therefore that I now enclose a copy, which I beseech your excellency to reconsider and lay before his majesty's privy council. If such expeditions as I wish to command were to be fitted out in *America*, I might be able with the greater certainty to strike the first blow by a complete surprise. Before the fleet of his majesty sailed from Brest the first time, under Count D'Orvilliers, M. de Chaumont told me it was the desire of government to have my ideas on private expeditions in writing. I gave him with great pleasure many ideas, from my long knowledge of the enemy's trade and situation, that might have proved of great advantage to our cause, and I wish M. de Chaumont had given all my then ideas to the court, although I am told he has taken credit for some of them as *his own*. I am now nearly ready for sea with his majesty's sloop of war the *Ariel*, and I should be happy to carry with me to Congress the interest of this government for my promotion ; but especially that I may be henceforth constantly employed in the most active and enterprising services, with such a force under my command as may enable me effectually to promote the interest of our glorious cause. This, my lord, would be my supreme ambition, actuated by no mean views of self interest, but inspired by the purest principles of gratitude and philanthropy. It is upon this ground alone that I depend on the

constant protection of the king, your excellency, and this government.

“It is absolutely necessary, my lord, to destroy the foreign commerce of the English, especially their trade to the Baltic, from whence they draw all the supplies for their marine. It is equally necessary to alarm their coasts, not only in the colonies abroad, but even in their islands at home. These things would distress and distract the enemy much more than many battles between fleets of equal force. England has carried on the war against America in a far more barbarous form than she durst have adopted against any power of Europe. America has a right to retaliate; and by our having the same language and customs with the enemy, we are in a situation to surprise their coast and take such advantage of their unguarded situation, under the flag of America, as can never be done under the flag of France. This is not theory, for I have proved it by my experience; and if I have opportunity I will yet prove it more fully.

“I shall be happy, my lord, to be honoured with your excellency’s determination as soon as possible, as I purpose to proceed with the utmost expedition to Philadelphia, and as there is no time to lose in preparing for the operations of the next campaign.”

We should infer from this letter, that M. Le Ray de Chaumont was the “man at the entrance of the garden.” And it needs no Sphinx to explain, why a man of Jones’ temper quarrelled with him, because the gate was not always open.

Whether the project submitted by Jones was quixotic or rational, the French government could not have complied with his demands, such as they are intimated to have been by the reply of the Comte de Maurepas, from which the following extract is taken: “I have examined and communicated to M. de Sartine the project annexed to your letter, and we have no manner of doubt of the good effect that would result, were it entrusted to you. But at present it could not be said what num-

ber of frigates might be employed, they being all actually armed on account of the king, and the plan of the approaching campaign is not yet sufficiently determined, positively to say how many frigates may be given to you. But this need not prevent, if you have the consent of Congress, the execution of the first part of your scheme, to come here, as you propose, with the Alliance and the other vessels which you may have, and with a sufficient American crew to arm the frigates which may join you. I will endeavour here to secure some for you, or to substitute privateers in their place. This is all I can inform you of for the present."

Three days before the date of the letter last referred to, Franklin had written to Jones, sending him his despatches by the Count de Vauban, and requesting him to sink them, if necessary. The following passage in his letter deserves notice, because it would appear that Jones had shown a morbid degree of sensibility, after the high ground he had taken and well maintained, to the misconceptions of individuals. "Depend upon it," said the minister, "I never wrote to Mr. Gillon that the Bon Homme Richard was a privateer. I could not write so; because I never had such a thought. I will, next post, send you a copy of my letter to him; by which you will perceive that he has only forced that construction from a vague expression," &c. The vague expression was the mercantile phrase "*the concerned.*" We have no time to spend on Mr. Gillon's misconstructions.

The Ariel lay at the road of Groix when, on the 13th September, a month after the date of the last letter that has been quoted, when we find an epistle from Jones, dated from on board, to Madame la Presidente L'Ormoy: "My particular thanks are due to you, madam, for the personal proofs I have received of your esteem and friendship, and for the happiness you procured me in the society of the charming countess and other ladies and gentlemen of your circle. But I have a favour to ask of you, madam, which I hope you will grant me. You tell me in your letter, that the inkstand, I had the honour to present you as a small token of my esteem, shall be reserved for the purpose of

writing what concerns me. Now I wish you to see my idea in a more expanded light, and would have you make use of that inkstand to instruct mankind and support the dignity and rights of human nature."

We have now got among the correspondence of Jones with the Parisian ladies. The letters from Delia are most numerous. Who the lady was that assumed this signature, must remain a mystery ; nor would the discovery be of any interest. She would be as little identified to every reader of this day by her real name, as by that which she assumed. Specimens of her manner of writing have appeared in print, in sufficient numbers and quantity. Her original letters, in French, indicate a want of acquaintance with the art of spelling. It is said in the Edinburgh Life of Jones, that Delia has been discovered in America to have been a young lady of the court. This is not the fact, as the surmise was first made, upon no authority that has ever been heard of, in London.

Madame T——, another correspondent of Jones, a "worthy lady" as he styles her, and as she was no doubt, was a daughter of Louis XV. and of a lady of quality, as we learn by a letter from Jones to Mr. Jefferson, written several years after this period. "His majesty," Jones says, "bestowed a very large fortune on the mother, on her daughter's account. Unfortunately the father died while the daughter (his great favourite) was very young ; and the mother has never since shown her either justice or natural affection. She was long the silent victim of that injustice ; but I had the pleasure to be instrumental in putting her in a fair way to obtain redress."

His influence at court, real or supposed, was a motive which, in addition to his renown, prompted the fair to smile on him, and solicit its exertion in obtaining those favours which are won by such interest. The Countess de Lavendahl, (or Lawendal, as Jones always spells the name,) a young and dashing woman, seems to have looked for the promotion of her husband through his application, and at the same time to have had no objection to indulge in a little harmless gallantry. She painted a minia-

ture of him, and gave him her own. Certain letters were published in the English press at this period, which were ascribed to a young English lady, Miss Edes, residing at Versailles. We find the following extracts from them in the Edinburgh Life.

"The famous Paul Jones dines and sups here often; he is a smart man of thirty-six, speaks but little French, appears to be an extraordinary genius, a poet as well as a hero; a few days ago he wrote some verses extempore, of which I send you a copy. He is greatly admired here, especially by the ladies, who are all wild for love of him, as he for them; but he adores Lady ——, (the Countess Lavendahl,) who has honoured him with every mark of politeness and distinction."

"Verses addressed to the ladies who have done me the honour of their polite attention!"

Presented by Paul Jones to Mademoiselle G——.

"Insulted Freedom bled,—I felt her cause,
And drew my sword to vindicate her laws,
From principle, and not from vain applause.
I've done my best; self interest far apart,
And self reproach a stranger to my heart;
My zeal still prompts, ambitious to pursue
The foe, ye fair! of liberty and you:
Grateful for praise, spontaneous and unbought,
A generous people's love not meanly sought;
To merit this, and bend the knee to beauty,
Shall be my earliest and latest duty."

In a subsequent letter, the supposed Miss Edes says: "Since my last, Paul Jones drank tea and supped here. If I am in love with him, for love I may die; I have as many rivals as there are ladies; but the most formidable is still Lady ——, (the Countess Lavendahl,) who possesses all his heart. This lady is of high rank and virtue, very sensible, good natured, and affable. Besides this, she is possessed of youth, beauty, and wit, and every other female accomplishment. He is gone, I suppose, for America. They correspond, and his letters are replete with elegance, sentiment, and delicacy. She drew his picture, (a striking likeness,) and wrote some lines under it,

which are much admired, and presented it to him, who, since he received it, is, he says, like a second Narcissus, in love with his own resemblance ; to be sure he is the most agreeable sea wolf one would wish to meet with. As to his verses, you may do with them what you please. The king has given him a magnificent gold sword, which, lest it should fall into the hands of the enemy, he has begged leave to commit to the care of her ladyship—a piece of gallantry which is here highly applauded. If any further account of this singular genius should reach my hands, you shall have it.”

The countess could not have been much pleased to find her gallantries thus chronicled in public newspapers, and the following letter, which Jones wrote to her from Versailles, appears to have induced her to think that the correspondence had been carried far enough.

“ I am deeply concerned in all that respects your happiness: I therefore have been, and am much affected at some words that fell *in private* conversation from Miss Edes, the evening I left Versailles. I am afraid that you are less happy than I wish, and am sure you deserve to be. I am composing a cipher for a key to our future correspondence, so that you will be able to write me very freely, and without risk. It is a small dictionary of particular words, with a number annexed to each of them. In our letters we will write, sometimes, the corresponding number instead of the word, so that the meaning can never be understood until the corresponding words are interlined over the numbers.

“ I beseech you to accept the within lock. I am sorry that it is now eighteen inches shorter than it was three months ago. If I could send you my heart itself, or any thing else that could afford you pleasure, it would be my happiness to do it. *Before* I had the honour of seeing you, I wished to comply with the invitation of my lodge,* and I need not add that I have since

* Probably the lodge of the *Neuf Sœurs*, of which he was a member.—Ed. Life.

found *stronger* reasons that have compelled me to seek the means of returning to France again as soon as possible."

The lady appears to have retained the cipher, the letter, and the lock ; but wrote to express her astonishment at Jones' boldness ; and expressed a supposition that the letter must have been *misdirected*. She begged to introduce to him the Count Lavendahl, her husband, who was passing through L'Orient, and said she should be obliged to Jones, if he would " pay him every civility."

Jones got out of his false position with admirable coolness and dexterity, as the following letter will show. It is dated July 14th.

" MADAM,

" Since I had the honour to receive your packet from Versailles, I have carefully examined the copy of my letter from Nantes, but am still at a loss, and cannot conceive, what part of the letter itself could have occasioned your imagining I had mistaken the address. As for the little packet it contained, perhaps it might better have been omitted : if so, it is easily destroyed. If my letter has given you even a moment's uneasiness, I can assure you, that to think so would be as severe a punishment as could be inflicted upon me. However I may have been mistaken, my intention could never have been to give you the most distant offence. I was greatly honoured by the visit of the count, your husband, and am so well convinced of his superior understanding, that I am glad to believe Miss Edes was mistaken. I admire him so much, that I should esteem myself very happy indeed to have a joint expedition with him by sea and land, though I am certain that his laurels would far exceed mine. I mention this, because M. de Genet has both spoken and written to me on the subject, as from the count himself.

" I had the honour to lay a project before the king's ministers in the month of May, for future combined expeditions under the flag of America, and had the satisfaction to find that my ideas were approved by them. If the count, your husband,

will do me the honour to concert with M. de Genet, that the court may send with me to America the application that was intended to be made to Congress, conformable to the proposal I made, it would afford me a pleasing opportunity of showing my gratitude to the king, to his ministers, and to his generous-minded nation. I should be greatly proud to owe my success to your own good offices ; and would gladly share with your husband the honour that might result from our operations. I have within these few days had the honour to receive from his majesty the cross of military merit, with a sword that is worthy the royal giver, and a letter which I ardently wish to deserve. I hold the sword in too high estimation to risk its being taken by the enemy ; and therefore propose to deposite it in the care of a friend. None can be more worthy of that sacred deposite than you, madam ; and if you will do me the honour to be its guardian, I shall esteem myself under an additional obligation to deserve your ribbon, and to prove myself worthy of the title of your knight. I promised to send you a particular account of my late expedition ; but the late extraordinary events that have taken place, with respect to the frigate Alliance, made me wish to postpone that relation until after a court martial in America shall have furnished evidence for many circumstances that would, from a simple assertion, appear romance and founded on vanity. The only reason for the revolt on board the Alliance was, because the men were not paid either wages or prize money ; and because one or two envious persons persuaded them that I had concurred with M. de Chaumont to defraud them, and to keep them in Europe during the war, which, God knows, was not true. For I was bound directly for America ; and far from concurring with M. de Chaumont, I had not even written or spoken to him, but had highly resented his mean endeavours to keep the poor men out of their just rights, which was the only business that brought me to court in April.

“ If I am to have the honour of writing you from beyond sea, you will find that the cipher I had the honour to send you may be necessary ; because I would not wish all my informations to

be understood, in case my letters should fall into the hands of the enemy. I shall communicate no idea in cipher that will offend even such great delicacy as yours; but as you are a philosopher, and as friendship has nothing to do with sex, pray what harm is there in wishing to have the picture of a friend? Present, I pray, my best respects to the count. If we are hereafter to be concerned together in war, I hope my conduct will give him satisfaction; at any rate, I hope for the honour of his friendship. Be assured that I shall ever preserve for you the most profound esteem and the most grateful respect.

“PAUL JONES.”

The brilliant sword of which Jones offered to make the fair countess the depositary, bore this inscription: VINDICATI MARIS LUDOVICUS XVI. REMUNERATOR STRENUO VINDICI. The lady declined becoming its guardian, as we learn from the next epistle, supposing it to have been addressed to her.

“*Ariel, road of Groix, September 21, 1780.*”

“MADAM,—I was honoured with the very polite letter that your ladyship condescended to write me on the 5th of last month. I am sorry that you have found it necessary to refuse me the honour of accepting the deposit mentioned in my last, but am determined to follow your advice, and be myself its guardian. [A day or two before I wrote to you last, I had received a challenge from Sir James Wallace, who, in the *Nonesuch*, a ship of the line, copper bottomed and of superior swiftness, declared he waited in sight for my departure. Had I commanded an equal force, I hope you will believe, I would have employed my time otherwise than in writing you any proposition for the safety of a weapon, that I should have hoped to use immediately with success.]* I have been detained in this open road by contrary

* The passage in brackets, is inserted from the copy of this letter published in *Sherburne*, where, as in the copy before me, it is addressed to the Countess of Bourbon. I find no great difficulty in supposing, that Jones paid to that lady, the same compli-

and stormy winds, since the 4th of this month. There is this moment an appearance of a fair opportunity, and I will eagerly embrace it. I have received a letter from the first minister, very favourable to the project I mentioned to you, and you may depend on my utmost interest with Congress to bring the matter to issue. I am sure that assembly will, with pleasure, say all yourself or the count could wish, respecting the count, if my scheme is adopted.

“I have the satisfaction to inform you, that, by the testimony of all the persons just arrived in four ships at L’Orient from Philadelphia, the Congress and all America appeared to be warmly my friends; and my heart, conscious of its own uprightness, tells me I shall be well received. Deeply and gratefully impressed with a sense of what I owe to you and your husband’s attentions and good wishes, and ardently desiring to merit your friendship and the love of this nation, by my conduct through life,

“I remain, madam, &c. &c.

“P. S.—I will not fail to write whenever I have any thing worth your reading; at the same time, may I hope to be honoured now and then with a letter from you, directed to Philadelphia. I was selfish in begging you to write me in French, because your letters would serve me as an exercise. Your English is correct, and even elegant.”

The correspondence with this lady was resumed somewhat more ceremoniously, a few years after this period.

On the 22d of this month he wrote to M. de la Sartine, stating that he could no longer be silent, while the money due to them was withheld from his officers and crew, as their loud complaints “would, through the artifices of Englishmen and Tories, give rise to very disagreeable clamours, and be ascribed to ministers. * * * * Two years, my lord, has that hair-brained man

ment which the Countess de Lavendahl rejected. But a comparison of dates renders it most probable that the epistle was written to the latter.

(M. de Chaumont) been employed in marring every idea of mine that was calculated to promote the common cause. **** If he had not interfered with the police of the squadron, nor betrayed the secret of its intended operations, very essential services might have been rendered to the common cause. I verily believe the Baltic fleet could never have entered the ports of England; and I am certain that Leith and Edinburgh would have been laid under a heavy contribution, and the merchant shipping of some of the principal harbours of England burnt to ashes. If the Baltic fleet had not entered the ports of England, Admiral Rodney would not have sailed, and the flag of Spain would now have waved over the ramparts of Gibraltar." M. de Chaumont was the cause, certainly, of some strong negatives and long inferences.

We shall now follow Jones' Journal. "He obtained a crew for the *Ariel*, that was ordered by government to be fully armed and equipped. He embarked such a quantity of arms and powder as, with provision for only nine weeks, filled the ship even between decks. He hoped to make the passage in a favourable season of the year, but was detained by contrary and stormy winds in the road of Groix, from the 4th of September till the 8th of October. He then sailed with a fair wind and pleasant weather; but the next night the *Ariel* was driven by a violent tempest close to the rocks of the Penmarque, a terrible ledge between L'Orient and Brest. The ship could show no sail, but was almost buried under the water, not having room to run before the wind, and having several feet water in the hold. Finding the depth of water diminish fast, Captain Jones, in the last extremity, cast anchor; but could not bring the ship's head to the wind. Sometimes the lower yard-arms touched the water. Captain Jones now had no remedy left, but to cut away the foremast. This had the desired effect; and the ship immediately came head to the wind. The main-mast had got out of the step, and now reeled about like a drunken man. Foreseeing the danger of its either breaking off below the gun-deck, or going through the ship's bottom, Captain Jones ordered it to be cut away. But

before this could be done, the chain-plates gave way, and the main-mast breaking off by the gun-deck, carried with it the mizen-mast ; and the mizen-mast carried away the quarter-gallery. In that situation, the *Ariel* rode in the open ocean, to windward of perhaps the most dangerous ledge of rocks in the world, for two days and near three nights, in a tempest that covered the shore with wrecks and dead bodies, and that drove ships ashore from their anchors, even in the port of L'Orient. It was perhaps fortunate that the *Ariel* lost her masts, since no anchors could have held her so long had the masts stood. By the help of jury-masts, erected after the gale, the *Ariel* returned to L'Orient."

This terrible gale was felt over nearly all Europe. Jones spoke thus of it in a letter to the Presidente D'Ormoy, dated October 16th. "By the enclosed declaration of my officers, you will see, my dear madam, that I was in a ticklish situation in the moment while you were employed in writing to me on the 9th ultimo. It is impossible to be more sensible than I am of the obligation conferred on me by your attentions and kind remembrance, joined to that of the belle comtesse, your fair daughters, and the amiable ladies and gentlemen of your society. I have returned without laurels, and, what is worse, without having been able to render service to the glorious cause of liberty. I know not why Neptune was in such anger, unless he thought it an affront in me to appear on his ocean with so insignificant a force. It is certain, that till the night of the 8th, I did not fully conceive the awful majesty of tempest and of shipwreck. I can give you no just idea of the tremendous scene that nature then presented, which surpassed the reach even of poetic fancy and the pencil. I believe no ship was ever before saved from an equal danger off the point of the Penmark rocks. I am extremely sorry that the young English lady you mention should have imbibed the national hatred against me. I have had proofs, that many of the first and finest ladies of that nation are my friends. Indeed, I cannot imagine why any fair lady should be my enemy, since, upon the large scale of univer-

sal philanthropy, I feel, acknowledge, and bend before the sovereign power of beauty. The English nation may hate me, but *I will force them to esteem me too.*"

Writing to Franklin, he said: "I owe the warmest thanks to the spirited and unremitting assistance of my officers, who behaved with a steady, composed courage, that does them the highest honour; and I have no fault to find with the conduct of any person under my command. They all behaved remarkably well. The gentlemen passengers showed a manly spirit, and true greatness of mind, even when death, in all its pomp, stared them in the face; and I am sure not one among them ever expected to see a returning sun."

To Dr. Bancroft he wrote as follows: "I am, my dear sir, returned to France without laurels, and, which is worse, *without having been able to render service to our cause.* I must refer you to Count de Vauban, the bearer of this letter, for a description of the late storm. I shall only say, it far exceeded all my former ideas of tempest. We must console ourselves that no lives were lost—an event remarkably fortunate under such circumstances. You have, no doubt, received news from America. I have seen some of the papers, but find nothing very agreeable, except the address of the assembly of Rhode Island to the Count de Rochambeau and the answer. Lee had reached Philadelphia the night before one of Captain Hall's passengers left it; but we know nothing farther, except that no guns were fired, no bells were rung, nor bonfires made in consequence of so great an event! Your effects are dry and safe, though many of our things are damaged, I mean our clothing, and books, &c. Part of the powder, arms, and bread, &c. are wet. Count de Vauban behaved remarkably well, and appears to me to be a very worthy character. He is determined to use his interest with the Duke de Orleans, that the *Terpsicore*, may be substituted for the *Ariel*."

The arrival of the Alliance in America, referred to in this letter, had been announced to Franklin by Dr. Cooper of Boston, who wrote to him on the 8th September, as follows.

"The Alliance arrived here some weeks ago, with Dr. Lee, who is still in town. This vessel appears to me to have left France in an unjustifiable manner, though I cannot yet obtain the particular circumstances. Landais did not hold his command through the voyage, which was either relinquished by him or wrested from him. All the passengers, as well as officers and sailors, are highly incensed against him, and Dr. Lee as much as any one. A court of inquiry is now sitting upon this matter, in which the Doctor has given a full evidence against the captain, which represents him as *insane*."

The result of this court of inquiry was, that Landais was dismissed from the service of the United States. Jones not being in America to substantiate them, the more serious charges were not urged against him, and he was consigned to insignificance.

It was found on examination, that the arms on board of the Ariel, which were the most valuable part of her stores, were so much damaged that it was necessary to unship and leave them; and she was so much disabled that, though Jones wrote to Franklin, on the 13th October, that the repairs had been commenced with great activity, by the assistance of the commandant of the marine, she was not ready for sea until December. The new expenses thus incurred tried severely the patience of the prudent Franklin, and he directed the necessary advances to be made with a heavy heart. He was again obliged to expostulate with the commodore. Jones used every effort, through his friends at court, to obtain the Terpsicore, and endeavoured to induce Mr. Silas Deane, and Dr. Bancroft to assist him in his application to the Marquis de Castries, who was now minister of the marine. But, he says in his Journal, "the noblemen, on whose interest he had chiefly depended being absent, the application failed." The Terpsicore was destined to carry despatches to the East Indies.

In writing to the new minister, he took the opportunity of paying his compliments to him, on his induction into office. "Permit me, my lord, to congratulate your excellency on the

happy choice his majesty has made, in appointing a disinterested patriot of your liberal mind and comprehensive understanding, to govern the royal navy of this kingdom. Believe me, my lord, I anticipate with a heart-felt pleasure, the happy events of your administration; and I shall rejoice, indeed, to be found worthy of your excellency's protection, and to be made instrumental, under your direction, in concert with the Congress, to put an honourable end to this war." He transmitted a copy of a project he had laid before M. de la Sartine, in May previous, and about which he had recently written to the Count de Maurepas, prime minister; which was to be executed with the aid of such frigates as he could procure in America. Writing to the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, by the next post, he says: "I hope so great and noble minded a man, as universal fame calls the Marquis de Castries, will either adopt my plan, or some better one, whereby I can effectually prove my gratitude to France, and promote the interest of the common cause."

By a letter addressed to the board of admiralty, on the 26th October, it appears that at this time a difficulty took place, on the score of rank, between Commodore Jones and the celebrated Captain Truxtun. He says: "I send a letter I received from Mr. Truxtun, the *master* of the Independence, of Philadelphia, dated the 24th, with my answer. Yesterday and to-day he has had the insolence to hoist a broad pendant, notwithstanding. Is not this bidding defiance to Congress and the continental flag? Congress will judge what punishment is equal to such a crime, when committed in sight of the flag and forts of an illustrious ally." The letters referred to are missing, according to the marginal note in the certified copy of the foregoing. Captain Truxtun, according to the Naval Chronicles, was sailing in a private armed ship, and had only the commission of a letter of marque. Whether any further notice was taken of this incident, we are unable to say.

Very wisely deeming it expedient to carry with him to America the strongest testimonials of the approbation of his services by the French court, Jones intimated to the new minister, that

a confirmation by him, of the letter written in his favour by M. de la Sartine, in May previous, would give him cause for gratitude. At the minister's desire, Mr. Genet informed him, that the letter in question was the act of the king in council ; and would rather be weakened than confirmed by any additional certificate.

No prize money had as yet been forthcoming. On the 24th of November, Jones wrote to M. le Ray de Chaumont as follows : " If you have received the produce of the sale of the prizes, taken last year by the American squadron then under my command, I request you to pay the part thereof belonging to the officers and crews of the *Bon Homme Richard* and the *Alliance*, into the hands of Messrs. Gourlade and Moylan, their legal agents, &c." The demand, it will be observed, was made upon a contingency. Jones desired that his own share of the prize money, both as chief of the squadron and captain of the *Bon Homme Richard*, might be paid to Dr. Franklin and Dr. Bancroft, his lawful attorneys ; and reclaimed payment of the wages due to the seamen of the *Bon Homme Richard*, who had been forcibly carried away in the *Alliance*. These wages, it will be remembered, Franklin thought ought to be paid in America. Jones wrote to the same purport, to the Marquis de Castries, on the same day. In relation to this matter of the prize money, it has not been heretofore explicitly stated, that the few prizes sent into the ports of France by the expedition, before it entered the Texel, had been sold, and the proceeds remitted, a year previously, to M. Chaumont, upon his order, by Messrs. Gourlade and Moylan. Jones wrote to the minister, " By virtue of the authority I had received from government, my honour was pledged to see these men justly paid. I have already suffered many reflections on their account, and I beseech your excellency to order them immediate payment."

Dr. Franklin had been confined to his bed, at this time, for some weeks. He wrote to Jones on the 4th December, telling him, " I shall strongly solicit the payment of the prize money, which I understand is not yet received from the king. I hope

soon to see an end of that affair, which has met with so many unaccountable obstructions. I enclose despatches for Congress, which are to be sunk in case of danger. I wish you to make the best of your way to America, and that you may have a prosperous voyage." By waiting for further despatches which M. Gourelade informed him were to be sent, Jones lost a favourable wind, and did not sail until the 18th of this month. As before, he made his valedictory compliments to Madame la Presidente d'Ormoy. In his letter he says: "I am much flattered by your having mentioned me to so great a man as the king of Prussia—the world will ever treat his opinion with the highest respect."

On the 18th December, he says in his Journal, he "bade adieu to the beloved nation of France; where, though he had met with some difficulties, he had many reasons to be satisfied, and was charmed with the courteous behaviour that so nobly marked the character of that generous-minded people. * * * * Having important despatches on board, and being besides much lumbered, he had determined to steer directly for America, and wished rather to avoid than seek after the enemy." He did, however, meet the enemy, and gained another victory, though the fruits of it were lost by baseness. With his account of this action, from the same journal, we will close the first part of this compilation.

"After a variety of rencounters, he, in the latitude 26° north, and longitude of Barbadoes, met with a remarkably fast sailing frigate belonging to the enemy's navy. Captain Jones endeavoured to avoid speaking with that ship, and as the night approached, he hoped to succeed, notwithstanding her superior sailing. He was, however, mistaken; for next morning the ships were at a less distance asunder than they had been the evening before, although during the night the officers of the watch had always informed Captain Jones the sail continued out of sight. An action now became unavoidable, and the Ariel was prepared for it. Every thing was thrown overboard that interfered with the defence and safety of the ship. Captain Jones took par-

ticular care, by the management of sails and helm, to prevent the enemy from discovering the force of the *Ariel*, and worked her so well as not to discover any warlike appearance or preparation. In the afternoon, the *Ariel* fired now and then a light stern-chaser at the enemy from the quarter-deck, and continued to crowd sail as if very much alarmed. This had the desired effect, and the enemy pursued with the greater eagerness. Captain Jones did not suffer the enemy to come close up till the approach of night, when, having well examined his force, he shortened sail, to meet his approach. When the two ships came within hail of each other they both hoisted English colours. The person whose duty it was to hoist the pendant on board the *Ariel* had not taken care to make the other end of the halliards fast, to haul it down again to change the colours. This prevented Jones from an advantageous manœuvre he had intended, and obliged him to let the enemy range up along the lee-side of the *Ariel*, where he saw a battery lighted for action. A conversation now took place between the two ships, which lasted near an hour; by which Captain Jones learned the situation of the enemy's affairs in America. The captain of the enemy's ship said his name was John Pindar. His ship had been constructed by the famous Mr. Peck of Boston, built at Newburyport, owned by Mr. Tracey of that place, commanded by Captain Hopkins, the son of the late Commodore Hopkins, and had been taken and fitted out at New York, and named the *Triumph*, by Admiral Rodney. Captain Jones told him he must put out his boat, and come on board and show his commission, to prove whether or not he really did belong to the British navy. To this he made some excuses, because Captain Jones had not told him who he was; and his boat, he said, was very leaky. Captain Jones told him to consider the danger of refusing. Captain Pindar said he would answer for twenty guns, and that himself and every one of his people had shown themselves Englishmen. Captain Jones said he would allow him five minutes only to make his reflection. That time being elapsed, Captain Jones backed a little in the weather-quarter

of the enemy, ran close under her stern, hoisted American colours, and being within short pistol shot on the lee-beam of the enemy, began to engage. It was past seven o'clock, and as no equal force ever exceeded the vigorous and regular fire of the *Ariel's* battery and tops, the action while it lasted made a glorious appearance. The enemy made a feeble resistance for about ten minutes. He then struck his colours. The enemy then begged for quarter, and said half his men were killed. The *Ariel's* fire ceased; and the crew, as usual after a victory, gave cries of joy. To 'show themselves Englishmen,' the enemy filled their sails, and got on the *Ariel's* weather-bow before the cries of joy had ended on board the *Ariel*. Captain Jones, suspecting the base design of the enemy, immediately set every sail he could to prevent her escape; but the enemy had so much advantage in sailing, that the *Ariel* could not keep up, and they soon got out of gun shot. The English captain may properly be called a knave, because, after he surrendered his ship, begged for, and obtained quarter, he basely ran away, contrary to the laws of naval war and the practice of civilized nations. A conspiracy was discovered among the English part of the *Ariel's* crew immediately after sailing from France. During the voyage every officer, and even the passengers, had been constantly armed, and kept a regular watch, besides a constant guard with fixed bayonets. After the action with the *Triumph*, the plot was so far discovered, that Captain Jones confined twenty of the ringleaders in irons till his arrival. Captain Jones arrived at Philadelphia on the 18th February, 1781, having been absent from America three years, three months, and eighteen days."

END OF PART I.

APPENDIX.

PART I.

No. I.—page 58.

THE following extracts of letters, are published to show that there was no malice or bad blood on the part of Commodore Hopkins towards Captain Jones, at the dates they bear. The first relates to another transaction, of the same character as that for which the suit was brought. They were of course not popular, under the circumstances at the time. What became of the prosecution referred to does not appear; but it was no doubt compromised with little comparative expense to any person.

“ Newport, October 18, 1776.

“ SIR,

“ The owners of Captain Demiss’ sloop, have delivered two of the men which signed their articles, and have given sufficient security that they will not carry away any of the men belonging to the fleet. If you find any men on board, that do belong to the fleet, take them out, and then discharge the sloop; as there are some of the owners that are men of honour, and will not do any such thing; it will be hard that they should suffer for one man, that has behaved out of character. So that, upon the whole, I think it best to let the sloop and her people go.

“ I am your friend and humble servant,

“ EZEK HOPKINS, Commander in Chief.”

“ To John P. Jones, Esquire, Commander of the Providence.

“ Hoysted Hacker, Esquire, Commander of the Hamden.”

“ Providence, December 18, 1776.

“ * * * * *

“ If my son Ezek wants to come home, to see his friends, you will be kind enough to give him leave. The owners of the privateer made a great noise about your taking the men out of her, and have brought an action; but I think they will make nothing of it. We have likewise brought an action against Captain Field for taking our men.”

No. II.—page 59.

The following letter, addressed to the Honourable Robert Morris, is published entire, because it comprehends the substance, and in many instances the literal expressions of Jones, in several other letters, private and official, relating to his own

opinion of what should be the organization of the navy; and giving a history of the difficulties which arose in the infant fleet of the country, concerning rank. The matter of these explanations is several times referred to in the text, both of the first and second part.

Philadelphia, October 10, 1783.

SIR,

It is the custom of nations, on the return of peace, to honour, promote, and reward, such officers as have served through the war with the greatest "*zeal, prudence, and intrepidity*." And since my country has, after an eight years' war, attained the inestimable blessing of peace and the sovereignty of an extensive empire; I presume that, (as I have constantly and faithfully served through the Revolution, and at the same time supported it, in a degree, with my purse,) I may be allowed to lay my grievances before you, as the head of the marine. I will hope, sir, through you, to meet with redress from Congress. *Rank*, which opens the door to glory, is too near the heart of every officer of true *military feeling*, to be given up in favour of any other man who has not, by the achievement of some brilliant action, or by known and superior abilities, merited such preference. *If this be so*, how must I have felt, since, by the second table of captains in the navy, adopted by Congress, on the 10th of October, 1776, I was superseded in favour of thirteen persons, two of whom were my junior lieutenants at the beginning; the rest were only commissioned into the continental navy on that day; and, if they had any superior abilities, these were not then known, nor have since been proved! I am the oldest sea officer (except Captain Whipple) on the Journal, and under the commission of Congress, remaining in the service. In the year, 1775, when the navy was established, some of the gentlemen by whom I was superseded, were applied to, to embark in the first expedition; but they declined. Captain Whipple has often and lately told me, they said to him, "they did not choose to be hanged." It is certain the hazard at the first was very great; and some respectable gentleman, by whom I am superseded, accepted the appointments of captain and of lieutenant of a provincial vessel for the protection of the river, after our fleet had sailed from it; and on board of which *they had refused to embark*, though I pretend not to know their reason. But the face of affairs having changed, as we ripened into the declaration of independence in 1776, their apprehensions subsided; and in a letter I received from the late Mr. Joseph Hewes, of Congress, and of the marine committee, dated at Philadelphia, May the 26th, 1776, and directed to me *as captain of the Providence at New York*, he says, "You would be surprised to hear what a vast number of applications, are continually making for officers of the new frigates, especially for the command. The strong *recommendations* from those provinces where any frigates are building, have great weight."

He adds, "My utmost endeavours shall be exerted to serve you; from a conviction that your merit entitles you to promotion, and that you ought to command some who were placed higher than yourself." I ask, sir, did these "*recommendations*" plead more successful than the *merit* of all the gallant men who first braved the ocean in the cause of America? Your candour must answer, Yes. What hapless prospect then have those, who can only claim from past, though applauded services? Credit, it is alleged, has been, however, taken in this Revolution for "*unparalleled heroism*." I

am sorry for it; for great as our pretensions to heroism may be, yet modesty becomes young nations as well as young men. But the first beginning of our navy was, as navies now rank, so singularly small, that I am of opinion, it has no precedent in history. Was it a proof of madness in the first corps of sea officers to have, at so critical a period, launched out on the ocean, with only two armed merchant ships, two armed brigantines, and one armed sloop, to make war against such a power as Great Britain? They had, perhaps, in proportion to their number, as much sense as the present table of officers can boast of; and it has not yet been proved, that they did not understand, at least *as well* their duty.

Their first expedition was far more glorious than any other that has been since attempted *from our coast*. Every officer on that service merited promotion, who was capable of receiving it. And, if there was an improper man placed over them as commander in chief, was that a reason to slight or disgrace the whole corps? Has the subsequent military conduct of those officers, by whom the first corps of sea officers were superseded, justified the preference they had to command the new frigates? If it has not, what shall we say in favour of the precedence, which, "Repugnant to an Act of Congress, of the 22d of December, 1775," and contrary to all rule or example, was given them in the second table of naval rank, adopted the 10th of October, 1776? Could any thing have been more humiliating than this to sea officers appointed and commissioned in 1775? Would it not have been more kind to have dismissed them from the service, even without assigning a reason for so doing? Before any second arrangement of naval rank had been made, perhaps it would have been good policy, to have commissioned, five or seven old mariners, who had seen war, to have examined the qualifications of the candidates, especially, those who made their *conditions* and sought so earnestly after the *command* of the new frigates. Those commissioners might also have examined the qualifications of the first corps of sea officers, promoted such as were capable of it, and struck from the list such as were unequal to the commission they bore, &c. Thus, by giving precedence in rank to all the captains who had served and were thought worthy of being continued; and also to all lieutenants promoted to the rank of captains, for their meritorious services and fit qualifications, justice might have been done both to individuals and to the public. It has been said, with a degree of contempt, by some of the gentlemen who came into the continental navy, the second year of the war, that "I was *only a lieutenant* at the beginning;" and pray, what were they when I was out on the ocean in that character? They pay me a compliment. To be diffident, is not always a proof of ignorance, but sometimes the contrary. I was offered a captain's commission at the first, to command the Providence, but declined it. Let it, however, be remembered, that there were three grades of sea lieutenants established by the Act of Congress of the 22d of December, 1775; and as I had the honour to be placed at the head of the first of those grades, it is not quite fair in those gentlemen to confound me with the last; yet when I came to try my skill, I am not ashamed to own, I did not find myself perfect in the duties of a first lieutenant. However, I by no means admit, that any one of the gentlemen who so earnestly sought after *rank* and the *command* of the new frigates the next year, was at the beginning able to teach me any part of the duty of a sea officer. Since that time it is well known, there has been no comparison between their *means* of acquiring military marine knowledge and mine.

If midnight study, and the instruction of the greatest and most learned sea officers, can have given me *advantages*, I am not without them. I confess, however, I am yet to learn. It is the work of many years' study and experience, to acquire the high degree of science necessary for a great sea officer. Cruising after merchant ships, the service on which our frigates have generally been employed, affords, I may say, no part of the knowledge necessary for conducting fleets and their operations. There is *now*, perhaps, as much difference between a single battle between two ships, and an engagement between two fleets, as there is between a single duel and a *ranged* battle between two armies. I became captain, by right of service and succession, and by order and commission of his excellency Ezek Hopkins, Esq. commander in chief, the 10th day of May, 1776, at which time the captain of the Providence was broke and dismissed from the navy, by a court martial. Having arrived at Philadelphia, with a little convoy from Boston, soon after the declaration of independence, President Hancock gave me a captain's commission *under the United States*, dated the 8th day of August, 1776. I did not, at the time, think that this was doing me justice; as it did not correspond with the date of my appointment by the commander in chief. It was, however, I presumed, the *first naval commission* granted under the United States. And as a resolution of Congress had been passed the 17th day of April, 1776, "that the *nomination* of captains should not determine rank, which was to be settled *before* commissions were granted." My commission of the 8th of August, 1776 must, by that resolution, take rank of every commission dated the 10th of October, 1776. My duty brought me again to Philadelphia in April, 1777; and President Hancock then told me that new naval commissions were ordered to be distributed to the officers.

He requested me to show him the captain's commission he had given me the year before. I did so. He then desired me to leave it with him a day or two, till he could find a leisure moment to fill up a new commission. I made no difficulty. When I waited on him the day before my departure, to my great surprise, he put into my hands a commission, dated the 10th day of October, 1776, and numbered *eighteen* on the margin! I told him that was not what I expected, and requested my former commission. He turned over various papers on the table, and at last told me he was sorry to have lost or mislaid it. He paid me many compliments on the services I had performed in vessels of little force, and assured me no officer stood higher in the opinion of Congress than myself; a proof of which, he said, was my late appointment to the command of *secret* expeditions, with five sail and men proportioned, against St. Kitts, Pensacola, Augustine, &c. That the table of naval rank that had been adopted the 10th of October, 1776, had been drawn up in a hurry, and without well knowing the different merits and qualifications of the officers; but it was the intention of Congress to render impartial justice, and always to honour, promote, and reward merit. And, as to myself, that I might depend on receiving a very agreeable appointment soon after my return to Boston; and, until I was perfectly satisfied respecting my rank, I should have a separate command. See Paper No. 1. I returned to Boston, and it was not long before I received orders to proceed to Europe to command the great frigate building at Amsterdam, for the United States; then called the *Indieu*, and since the *South Carolina*. It was proposed that I should proceed to France in a ship belonging to that kingdom; but, some difficulties arising, the sloop of war *Ranger* of eighteen guns, was put under my command for that service, and to serve afterwards as a tender to the

Indien. Political reasons defeated the plan, after I had met our commissioners at Paris, agreeable to their order, to consult on the ways and means of carrying it into execution. I returned in consequence to Nantes, and reassumed the command of the *Ranger*. When I returned from Europe and my sovereign told the world, that some of my military conduct on the coast of England had been "*attended with circumstances so brilliant as to excite general applause and admiration;*" when the honours conferred on me by his most christian majesty; to wit, a gold sword, on which is impressed the highly flattering words, "*Vindicati Maris Ludovicus XVI. Remunerator Strenuus Vindici,*" and emblems of the alliance between the United States and France, accompanied with the *order and patent* of military merit, and a very strong and *particular letter* of recommendation to Congress in my behalf, No. 2, were declared *by them* to be "highly acceptable;" when I was thought worthy of a vote of thanks and general approbation so strong and comprehensive, as that hereto subjoined, in Paper No. 3, I was far from thinking that such *pleasing expressions* were all the gratification I had to expect. The committee of Congress to whom was referred my general examination by the board of admiralty, with the report of that board thereon, were of opinion that I had merited a gold medal, with devices declarative of the vote of thanks, which I had received from the United States in Congress assembled. And I was persuaded that I should also be promoted, or at least restored to the place I held in the naval line of rank in the year 1775. I waited patiently for some time; but nothing was done on either of these subjects. Being informed by some members of Congress, that it was necessary I should present my claim respecting rank in writing, I did so, in a letter of which No. 4 is a copy, addressed to his excellency the president of Congress, the 28th of May, 1781. My application was referred to a special committee who, as I have been informed by one of its members, made a report in my favour, and gave as their opinion, that I had merited to be promoted to the rank of rear admiral. Before Congress had taken up the report an application in opposition to me, was made by two of the captains who had superseded me. Upon this the report was recommitted. The committee once more reported in my favour; but without giving a direct opinion respecting my promotion; and recommended the appointment of a commander in chief of the navy, as may be seen by the annexed copy, No. 5, of that report; which, on account of the thinness of Congress, was on the 24th of August, 1781, endorsed "*Not to be acted upon.*" It is, however, plain, it was intended to be taken up again, when a proper opportunity presented itself; otherwise it would not have been retained on the files of Congress. This appears also by the extract of a letter, No. 6, which I wrote from Portsmouth in New Hampshire, and the answer, No. 7, that I received from the honourable John Mathews, Esq. who was chairman of the committee respecting the honorary medal, and a member of the committee on my rank. While my claim for rank stood recommitted before the committee, I was unanimously elected by ballot in Congress, the 26th of June, 1781, to command the *America* of 74 guns; (and, as I was erroneously informed, *ready to launch* at Portsmouth;) on which occasion several of the members of Congress told me as their opinion, that my rank was thereby settled beyond a dispute; because the *America* was the only ship in the service "of 40 guns and upwards;" and Congress had resolved that captains of ships of 40 guns and upwards should rank as colonels, and captains of ships between 20 and 40 guns as lieutenant colonels. There appeared

so much reason and justice in that opinion, that I was then and am still inclined to believe it was not without good foundation; for certainly there is no comparison between the trust reposed in a captain of the line and a captain of a frigate; and, except in England, where avarice is the ruling principle of the corps, there is no equality between their distinct ranks. A captain of the line *must* at this day be a tactician. A captain of a cruising frigate *may make shift* without having ever heard of the naval tactic. Until I arrived in France, and became acquainted with that great tactician Count D'Orvilliers and his judicious assistant the Chevalier Du Pavillion, who each of them honoured me with instructions respecting the science of governing the operations and police of a fleet, I confess I was not sensible how ignorant I had been of naval tactics.

I have many things to offer respecting the formation of our navy, but shall reserve my observations upon that head until you shall have leisure to attend to them, and require them of me. I have had the honour to be presented with copies of the signals, tactics, and police, that have been adopted under the different admirals of France and Spain during the war; and I have in my last campaign seen them put in practice. While I was at Brest, as well as while I was inspecting the building of the *America*, as I had furnished myself with good authors, I applied much of my leisure time to the study of naval architecture and other matters, that relate to the establishment and police of dock-yards, &c. (I, however, feel myself bound to say again, I have yet much need to be instructed.) But if, such as I am, it is thought I can be useful in the formation of the future marine of America, *make whole my honour*, and I am so truly a citizen of the United States, that I will cheerfully do my best to effect that great object. It was my fortune, as the senior of the first lieutenants, to hoist the flag of America the first time it was displayed. Though this was but a light circumstance, yet I feel for its honour more than I think I should have done if it had not happened. See Paper No. 8. I drew my sword at the beginning, not after having made *sinister conditions* but purely from principle in the glorious cause of freedom; which I hope has been amply evinced by my conduct during the Revolution. I hope I shall be pardoned in saying, it will not be expected, after having fought and bled for the purpose of contributing to make millions happy and free, that I should remain miserable and dishonoured by being superseded, *without any just cause assigned*. Permit me now, sir, to draw your particular attention to the following points: 1st, By virtue of my commission as the senior of the first lieutenants of the American navy, I stand the next in rank to Captain Abraham Whipple, who is the only one of my senior officers now remaining in the service. 2ndly, By the commission as captain *under the United States*, which I received from the hands of President Hancock at the door of the chamber of Congress, dated the 8th day of August, 1776, I am entitled to precede all the captains whose commissions *under the United States* are dated the 10th day of October, following. 3dly, My right of precedence is confirmed by the Act of Congress of the 26th of June, 1781, appointing me to the command of the *America* of 74 guns, Congress having previously resolved, that captains of ships of 40 guns and upwards should rank as colonels, and that captains of ships from 40 down to 20 guns should only rank as lieutenant colonels. I will at present say nothing of those pretensions which the favourable notice and recommendation of his most christian majesty might encourage me to form, and which have hitherto proved so fruitless to me, though similar recommenda-

tions from Congress to that monarch have proved so efficacious in favour of those who were honoured with them. Though I have only mentioned two things that afflict me, *i. e.* the delay of a decision respecting my rank, and the honorary medal, yet I have met with many other humiliations in the service, that I have borne in silence. I will just mention one of them. When the *America* was presented to his most christian majesty, I presume it would not have been inconsistent with that act of my sovereign, if it had mentioned my name. Such little attentions to the military pride of officers are always of use to a state, and *cost nothing*. In the present instance, it could have been no displeasing circumstance, but the contrary, to a monarch who condescends to honour me with his attention. I appeal to yourself, sir, whether, after being unanimously elected to command the first and only American ship of the line, my conduct, for more than sixteen months while inspecting her building and launching, had merited only such cold neglect? When the *America* was taken from me, I was deprived of my tenth command.

Will posterity believe, that out of this number the sloop of war *Ranger* was the *best* I was ever enabled by my country to bring into actual service? If I have been instrumental in giving the American flag some reputation and making it respectable among European nations, will you permit me to say, that, it is not because I have been honoured, by my country, either with proper means or proper encouragement. I cannot conclude this letter without reminding you of the insult offered to the flag of America, by the court of Denmark; in giving up to England, towards the end of the year, 1779, two large letter of marque ships (the one the *Union*, from London, the other the *Betsy*, from Liverpool,) that had entered the port of Bergen, in Norway, as my prizes. Those two ships mounted 22 guns each, and were valued, as I have been told, at sixteen hundred thousand livres Tournois. I acquit myself of my duty by giving you this information, now when the sovereignty and independence of America is acknowledged by Great Britain; and I trust that Congress will now demand and obtain proper acknowledgments and full restitution from the court of Denmark.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

J. PAUL JONES.

Copy of a report of a committee on Captain Paul Jones' letter and others. Endorsed
"August 24, 1781, not to be acted upon."

"The committee to whom were referred the application of Captain John Paul Jones; and also the applications of Captain James Nicholson and Captain Thomas Reed, beg leave to report,

"That by an arrangement of the captains of the navy which was adopted by Congress on the tenth day of October, A. D. 1776, Captain James Nicholson was placed first in rank, Captain Thomas Reed eighth, and Captain John Paul Jones the eighteenth.

"The committee cannot fully ascertain the rule by which that arrangement was made, as the relative rank was not conformable to the times of appointment or dates of commission, and seems repugnant to a resolution of Congress, of the 22d of December, 1775. It appears that Captains Whipple, Barry, Hollock, and Alexander, were appointed captains previous to either of the applicants; Captain Nicholson was later

than either, excepting Reed ; but Captain Nicholson had a command of armed vessels under the authority of the state of Maryland, prior to his being adopted in the continental navy. It is, therefore, to be presumed that preference was given to him on that account. Upon the whole, the committee submit to Congress whether it will be advisable to alter that arrangement ? If they should, Captain Jones will now stand the fifth captain, if respect be had only to times of appointment in that grade ; but if regard be had to Captain Jones' being a lieutenant in the navy prior to the appointment of many of the other gentlemen, he would then stand second in the rank of captains, and Whipple first.

"The committee also recommend to Congress the expediency of appointing a commander in chief of the navy, in the place of the late Ezek Hopkins, Esq. dismissed."

No. III.—page 63.

The observation in the note at the foot of the page, is perhaps a superfluous criticism on Jones' use of the term *inherit*. He had recovered, as I know from the best sources, several thousand pounds, from the wreck of his brother's fortune in Virginia ; and when he speaks of having lived upon fifty pounds for more than a year, he must refer to a period anterior to that immediately preceding. It is not known what amount he had received, if any, at this time, of the money due to him in England and Tobago, mentioned in his letter to Stuart Mawey, Esq. He was more than 1500 pounds in advance for the public service, before he left America, as he afterwards states. Excepting an inconsiderable amount of prize money, wrung from the hands of mercenary agents, he received nothing for his services to the United States, previous to his return in the *Ariel*, in 1780. There can, therefore, be no doubt that he hazarded his private resources as well as his personal safety, in the cause of his adopted country ; and it does not appear that he or his representatives were, or to this day are, more fortunate than others, who perilled all they had, in the question of our country's independence in having the pecuniary account liquidated, though his charges for disbursements on account of the government, at several times during the period referred to, were allowed. He had also his portion of continental money.

No. IV.—page 70.

In the early part of the Revolutionary war, the maritime flag seems to have been, either the coat of arms of the respective colonies under whose authority vessels were equipped, or to have depended upon the whim or fancy of the commanding officer. Thus, the brig *Yankee Hero*, of Marblehead, captured after an obstinate engagement by the *Milford* frigate, bore a pine tree in a white field ; and several fitted out from New York bore a black beaver.

On the 9th of February, 1776, thirteen months after Manly had been scouring the ocean under authority of the colony of Massachusetts, "Col. Gadsden presented to Congress an elegant standard, such as is to be used by the commander in chief of the American navy ; being a yellow field with a lively representation of a rattlesnake in "the attitude of going to strike, and these words underneath, 'Don't tread on me.' " This was doubtless the strange flag of which an English writer of that period speaks in the following words : "A strange flag has lately appeared in our seas, bearing a pine

tree with the portraiture of a rattlesnake coiled up at its root, with these daring words: 'Don't tread on me.' We learn that the vessels bearing this flag, have a sort of commission from a society of people at Philadelphia, calling themselves the continental Congress."

No. V.—page 75.

The following letter is without date, and the address is torn off. It is an interesting fragment.

" * * * Count d'Estaing, the king never had a subject who loved him better; who has a nobler mind, or who is a more worthy citizen. Though vice admiral of France, (the only officer of that high rank who has served in the late war,) he was sent out to America, with no more than the command of a *Chef d'Escadre*; and from three to four months after I had given the minister of marine the plan of that expedition. I gave the plan the 10th of February, 1778. That long and unnecessary delay rendered it scarcely possible for the expedition to succeed. Yet this was no fault of the vice admiral; who, on the contrary deserves the highest praise for his zeal and perseverance. He would have surmounted every difficulty and taken Lord Howe in the road of New York, if a generous sacrifice of *his own fortune*, 150,000*liv.* could have induced the pilot to conduct him over the bar.

"The captains who were about him were constantly in cabal to frustrate his projects, and never approached him with their advice, but with a revolting impertinence which is highly culpable in the mouth of subalterns when they speak to their chief. The admiral had proof that those men had done all in their power, by letters to court and otherwise, to ruin him. *Carte blanche* was sent him to punish them at his pleasure. But he contented himself with showing them that he was too noble minded, to avail himself of his power. He gave them every opportunity of distinguishing their zeal for their country, and always rendered ample justice to their good conduct. The taking of Grenada is a military achievement greater than any other admiral can boast of in the course of the last war; and if Count de G—— had supported his admiral in the engagement with Byron, it would have been the most glorious affair for the flag of France that ever happened. If the admiral did not succeed at Savannah, it must be attributed to invincible difficulties. No other man in his place would have succeeded. He had been misinformed respecting the badness of the coast, where his fleet were obliged to remain at anchor far from the land in the open sea, far from every resource of provisions, wood, or water. He had been misinformed respecting the length and shallowness of the river, the strength of the place, and the force of the enemy. When he summoned Savannah to surrender he had not above a fourth part of his troops landed, and he had with him neither mortars nor battering cannon. He found the enemy much stronger than he had expected; and it was a stratagem of war that might have succeeded; for he was certain that the enemy did not know that he was not of sufficient force to put his threat in execution. No fault can be found with his conduct on that expedition, except it be said, that it was wrong to give the enemy so long time as two days to make his capitulation. But to this it may be answered, that the admiral could not possibly be ready in a shorter time to assault the place; which was so strongly re-inforced in the interim, that an assault must have failed. A siege, therefore, became indispensable. This required much more time; but there is reason to believe

it would have succeeded, if the admiral had not been so dangerously wounded when he stormed the place after having made a practicable breach ; for some of the Americans had got possession of a commanding bastion, before the retreat was ordered. In war, the force must be very superior that can insure success. And even a superior force may fail through circumstances, without any reflection on the commander. But Count d'Estaing deserved success ; and he can say what no other man can do who served through all the last war : ' He has had no advancement, his wounds are his honours ; and the public esteem his reward.'

' History says that France has no officer, whom England fears so much.

" I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

" PAUL JONES."

No. VI.—page 144.

The following letters will be found in the Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution, Vol. I. pp. 215, 268, 269.

[To the President of Congress.]

" Passy, April 12, 1785.

" Sir,

" Mr. de Chaumont, who will have the honour of presenting this line to your excellency, is a young gentleman of excellent character, whose father was one of our most early friends in this country, which he manifested by crediting us with a thousand barrels of gunpowder and other military stores in 1776, before we had provided any apparent means of payment. He has, as I understand, some demands to make on Congress, the nature of which I am unacquainted with ; but my regard for the family makes me wish that they may obtain a speedy consideration and such favourable issue as they may appear to merit.

" To this end I beg leave to recommend him to your countenance and protection, and am, with great respect, &c.

" B. FRANKLIN."

[To M. le Ray de Chaumont.]

" Passy, Sept. 15, 1778.

" Sir

" As our finances are, at present, in a situation seriously critical, and as I hold myself accountable to Congress for every part of my conduct, even to the smallest article of my expenses, I must beg the favour of you to consider what rent we ought to pay you for this house and furniture both for the time past and to come. Every part of your conduct towards me, and towards our Americans in general, and in all our affairs, has been polite and obliging, as far as I have had an opportunity of observing, and I have no doubt it will continue so ; yet it is not reasonable that the United States should be under so great an obligation to a private gentleman, as that two of their representatives should occupy, for so long a time, so elegant a seat, with so much furniture, and so fine accommodations, without any compensation ; and, in order to avoid the disapprobation of our constituents on the one hand, for living here at too great or at too uncertain an expense ; and on the other the censure of the world for not making

sufficient compensation to a gentleman who has done so much for our convenience, it seems to me necessary that we should come to an *eclaircissement* upon this head.

"As you have an account against the commissioners, or against the United States, for several other matters, I should also be obliged to you if you would send it in as soon as possible, as every day renders it more and more necessary for us to look into our affairs with the utmost precision.

"I am, sir, with much esteem and respect,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"JOHN ADAMS."

[M. le Ray de Chaumont to John Adams.]

"Passy, Sept. 18, 1778.

TRANSLATION.

"SIR,

"I have received the letter which you did me the honour to write to me on the 15th instant, making inquiry as to the rent of my house, in which you live, for the past and the future. When I consecrated my house to Dr. Franklin, and his associates who might live with him, I made it fully understood that I should expect no compensation; because I perceived that you had need of all your means to send to the succour of your country, or to relieve the distresses of your countrymen escaping from the chains of their enemies. I pray you, sir, to permit this arrangement to remain, which I made when the fate of your country was doubtful. When she shall enjoy all her splendour, such sacrifices on my part will be superfluous or unworthy of her; but, at present they may be useful, and I am most happy in offering them to you.

"There is no occasion for strangers to be informed of my proceeding in this respect. It is so much the worse for those who would not do the same if they had the opportunity, and so much the better for me, to have immortalized my house by receiving into it Dr. Franklin and his associates.

"I have the honour to be,

"Sir, with the most perfect respect, &c.

"LE RAY DE CHAUMONT."

The following is part of a letter from the "Nation's Guest," whose remembrances of half a century were found to be as vivid, as his enthusiasm had been when he embarked in the cause of liberty in 1776. It was addressed to Le Ray de Chaumont, Esq. of Jefferson County, son of the gentleman in question.

"La Grange, November 10, 1825.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Although your own remembrance of the services rendered to our cause by the late Le Ray de Chaumont, and under his direction by his son, precludes the utility of any further evidence, I think it a duty, as one of the few surviving witnesses of those transactions to add my testimony to those of William Franklin, Marbois, Laforêt, Monroe, as well as your respected father's recollections. Yet I would think it superfluous to enter with you into a minute detail of the efforts which M. Le Ray de Chaumont made with his favourable situation, large fortune, remarkable talents, and un-

common activity, and constancy to promote the interest of the United States, before the recognition of independence by the French court, and afterwards, by his continued exertions; namely in the expedition of the American squadron under the command of the gallant Paul Jones."

An allusion follows to the unsettled account of M. Le Ray de Chaumont.

I state on the authority of the gentleman to whom the foregoing letter was addressed, that a reconciliation took place between Jones and himself after the conclusion of the peace, Dr. Franklin having brought them together, in the presence of Robert Morris, Esq. at Philadelphia. It was then and there made apparent to Jones, that he had not understood how much M. Le Ray Chaumont, senior, had been, and remained so largely in advance to the United States; and with his characteristic frankness, the commodore admitted his error. A friendship continued between these parties afterwards.

No. VII—pages 169, 198.

In a memorandum, dated at Versailles, on the 17th of June, 1780, Jones stated that, "when the treaty of alliance with France arrived in America, Congress feeling the most lively sentiments of gratitude towards France, thought how they might manifest the satisfaction of the continent by some public act. The finest frigate in the service was on the stocks, ready to be launched, and it was resolved to call her the Alliance. M. Landais, a French subject, who had then arrived in America from France, as master of a merchant ship laden with public stores, had reported that he had been a captain in the royal navy of France, had commanded a ship of the line, been a chief officer of the port of Brest, and was of such worth and estimation for his great abilities, that he could have had any honours or advancement in his own country that he pleased to accept; but that his desire to serve America had induced him to leave his own country, and even to refuse to receive the cross of St. Louis, that he might be at liberty to abjure the religion of his forefathers, which he did accordingly. Congress believing M. Landais to be in high esteem at the court of Versailles, and thinking, with reason, that it would give pleasure to his majesty to find that one of his worthy subjects had been treated with distinction in America, appointed him captain of the Alliance."

Captain Landais was well known to the citizens of the United States, especially during the latter years of his life. He died on Long Island, in the State of New York. For a considerable time prior to his death, he was an annual petitioner to Congress, on whose sessions he often attended, to urge his claim for indemnity, on account of his portion of the prize money, which ought to have accrued from three prizes sent into Norway, whilst he was in command of the Alliance in Europe. His temper, even in old age, appeared to be severe; for whilst at Washington, he could not avoid betraying his irritability. A remarkable instance of this unhappy constitutional excitability is related of him with respect to a member of Congress, who had spoken rather slightly of him. Landais dressed himself in his uniform, with a small sword by his side, and repaired to the gallery of the House of Representatives, when in session; indicating thereby, as well as in conversation with his acquaintances, that he was prepared to give any gentleman satisfaction who might be offended with him. He afterwards observed, quoting a remark ascribed to Henry IV. of France, that "if there was bad

blood in Congress, he would draw it." He affirmed to the last, that he, and not Jones, captured the Serapis, attributing her surrender entirely to his having raked her from the Alliance; about which the reader has seen that his assertion was entirely void of foundation.

The following account of this eccentric individual is from a more imaginative and perhaps less authentic account. But, it is believed that the statement is, in the main, correct. I know that there was such a tombstone erected for Landais, at the place mentioned; but the ground has since been raised in that cemetery, several feet, and like him whom it commemorated, *il a disparu*. At least, I cannot see it there any longer.

"There was another Frenchman of distinction, who used daily to take his solitary walk through Broadway. I allude to Admiral Pierre de Landais, a cadet of the family of a younger son of the youngest branch of one of the oldest, proudest, and poorest families in Normandy. He had regularly studied in the *Ecole de la marine*, and was thoroughly instructed in the mathematical theories of sailing and building a ship, although like the rest of his countrymen, he always found some unexpected difficulty in applying his theory to practice. For a Frenchman, however, he was a good sailor; but in consequence of his grandfather having exhausted his patrimony in a splendid exhibition of fire works for the entertainment of Madame de Pompadour, he had neither interest at court nor money to purchase court favour. He was, therefore, kept in the situation of an *aspirant* or midshipman, until he was thirty-two years old, and was kept, I know not how many years more, in the humble rank of *sous lieutenant*. He served his country faithfully, and with great good will until, in the beginning of the reign of Louis XVI. a page of the mistress of the Count de Vergennes came down to Cherbourg to be his captain. While he was boiling with indignation at this affront, the war between England and America broke out, and he seized that opportunity to enter the service of the United States. There he at once rose to the command of a fine frigate, and the title of admiral. Soon afterwards came the brilliant affair of the Serapis and the Bon Homme Richard, in which Paul Jones, by his impetuous and undisciplined gallantry, earned the reputation of a hero, and poor Landais by a too scrupulous attention to the theory of naval science, incurred that of a coward. I believe that naval authority is against me; but I venture to assert, *meo periculo*, and on the authority of one of my uncles, who was in that action as a lieutenant to Paul Jones, that Landais erred not through any defect of bravery, but merely from his desire to approach his enemy scientifically, by bearing down upon the hypotenuse of the precise right-angled triangle prescribed in the thirty-seventh "*manœuvre*" of his old text book.

"The naval committee of Congress unfortunately understood neither mathematics nor French; they could not comprehend Landais' explanations, and he was thrown out of service. After his disgrace he constantly resided in the city of New York, except that he always made a biennial visit to the seat of government, whether at Philadelphia or at Washington, to present a memorial respecting the injustice done him, and to claim restitution to his rank and the arrears of his pay. An unexpected dividend of prize money, earned at the beginning of the Revolutionary war, and paid in 1790, gave him an annuity of one hundred and four dollars; or rather, as I think, a hundred and five; for I remember his telling me that he had two dollars a week on which to subsist, and an odd dollar for charity at the end of the year.

"Although Congress under the new constitution continued as obdurate and as impenetrable to explanation as they were in the time of the confederation, the admiral kept up to the last, the habits and exterior of a gentleman. His linen, though not very fine, nor probably very whole, was always clean; his coat threadbare, but scrupulously brushed; and for occasions of ceremonious visiting, he had a pair of paste knee buckles and faded yellow silk stockings with red clocks. He wore the American cockade to the last, and on the fourth of July, the day of St. Louis, and the anniversary of the day on which the British troops evacuated the city of New York, he periodically mounted his old continental naval uniform, although its big brass buttons had lost their splendour, and the skirts of the coat, which wrapped his shrunken person like a cloak, touched his heels in walking, while the sleeves, by some contradictory process had receded several inches from the wrists. He subsisted with the utmost independence on his scanty income, refusing all presents, even the most trifling; and when my naval uncle, on one occasion sent him a dozen of Newark cider, as a small mark of his recollection of certain hospitalities at the admiral's table, when in command, while he himself was but a poor lieutenant, Landais peremptorily refused them, as a present which he could not receive, because it was not in his power to reciprocate.

"He was a man of the most punctilious and chivalric honour, and at the same time full of that instinctive kindness of heart and that nice sense of propriety, which shrinks from doing a rude thing to any body on any occasion. Even when he met his bitterest enemy, as he did shortly after he came to New York, the man whose accusation had destroyed his reputation and blighted his prospects, whose injuries he had for years brooded over, and whom he had determined to insult and punish whenever he fell in with him, he could not bring himself to offer him any insult unbecoming a gentleman, but deliberately spitting on the pavement, desired his adversary to consider that pavement as his own face, and to proceed accordingly.

"Thus, in proud, solitary, and honourable poverty, lived Pierre de Landais, for some forty years, until, to use the language of his own epitaph, in the eighty-seventh year of his age, he "disappeared" from this life. As he left no property behind him, and had no relations and scarcely any acquaintances in the country, it has always been a matter of mystery to me, who erected his monument, a plain white marble slab, which stands in the church yard of St. Patrick's Cathedral, in New York, and on which is read the following characteristic inscription:



A LA MEMOIRE
de

PIERRE DE LANDAIS,

ANCIEN CONTRE-AMIRAL,
au service

DES ETATS UNIS.

Qui Disparut

Juin 1818,

Age 87 ans.

Talsman, 11. 323—353.

No. VIII.—page 245.

It would be unpardonable to omit in a *Life of Jones*, specimens of the versification which he amused himself with making, either out of his own brains, or with the assistance of the metrical common-places, with which his memory seems to have been stored. The observation made in the text will be fully justified by them. One piece has been found among the manuscripts before the compiler, which has not been previously published. The lines which first follow, referred to in the text, were unquestionably made at the time of their date, and, as has been remarked by the ingenious biographer who contrived to make a connected story out of Mr. Sherburne's Collections, are as great a "psychological curiosity," as the singularly wild and beautiful fragment, entitled *Christabel*. They differ, certainly, in some strange respects. One is the elaborate amusement, (for Jones felt his personal pride quickly awake in every thing he did,) of a man who had laughed at the whole English navy, spurned the illegitimate *protection* of France, and evaded the fluctuating and unintelligible policy of the country into whose ports he had entered, and taken upon himself that awful responsibility, which death itself, without success, will not discharge. Jones had left Scylla barking, and knew that Charybdis was near, when he solemnly manufactured these strains. There is queer poetry in Coleridge's abortion; but no sensible person will ever believe, that he wrote down while awake, many hundred lines, which he remembered to have composed while asleep. So we will give the laurel to Jones, so far as psychological curiosities are concerned.

VERSES.

[Written on board the *Alliance* off Ushant, the 1st day of January, 1780, immediately after escaping out of the *Texel*, from the blockade of the British fleets; being in answer to a piece written and sent to the *Texel* by a young Lady at the Hague.]

I.

Were I, Paul Jones, dear maid, "the king of sea,"
 I find such merit in thy virgin song,
 A coral crown with bays I'd give to thee,
 A car which on the waves should smoothly glide along:
 The Nereides all about thy side should wait,
 And gladly sing in triumph of thy state
 "Vivat, vivat, the happy virgin muse!
 Of liberty the friend, who tyrant power pursues!"

II.

Or, happier lot! were fair Columbia free
 From British tyranny—and youth still mine,
 I'd tell a tender tale to one like thee
 With artless looks and breast as pure as thine.
 If she approved my flame, distrust apart,
 Like faithful turtles, we'd have but one heart:
 Together then we'd tune the silver lyre,
 As love or sacred freedom should our lays inspire.

III.

But since, alas ! the rage of war prevails,
 And cruel Britons desolate our land,
 For freedom still I spread my willing sails,
 My unsheath'd sword my injured country shall command.
 Go on, bright maid ! the muses all attend
 Genius like thine, and wish to be its friend.
 Trust me, although conveyed through this poor shift,
 My New-Year's thoughts are grateful for thy gift.

LINES ADDRESSED TO A LADY.

I.

When Jove from high Olympus goes
 To Ida, and the fair below,
 All heav'n laments—but Juno shows,
 A jealous and superior wo :
 In vain to her all power is given,
 To female weakness ever dear ;
 She scorns the sov'reignty of heav'n,
 Her God, her Jove, seems all to her !

II.

But when the Thunderer returns,
 And seeks his skies, (so Homer sings,)
 Soft flames the impatient goddess burns !
 She hastes to meet the King of kings :
 Swift as the light her chariot flies,
 Her swifter wishes fly before ;
 Still joyous in the middle skies,
 She meets the cloud compelling pow'r.

III.

Prolific nature feels th' embrace,
 Superior blossoms, fruits and flow'rs,
 Spring up—heav'n wears a brighter face,
 And fragrance in profusion show'rs.
 Celestial raptures who can tell ?
 Ours all divine ! are only *felt*,
 What bold presumptuous strains shall swell,
 With transports which the gods can melt !

IV.

Thus when thy warrior, though no god,
 Brings *Freedom's* standard o'er the main,
 Long absent from thy blest abode,
 Casts anchor in *dear France* again;
 O! thou more heavenly!—far more kind
 Than Juno, as thy swain than Jove,
 With what heart's transports, raptur'd mind!
 Shall we approach on wings of love!

The following verses, on a black profile, are without date, and written on I know not what occasion.

Pity so excellent a face,
 Should in a *shade* preserve thy name,
 Such beauty, harmony, and grace,
 The painter's softest tints may claim!

II.

The eye, complexion, spirit, air,
 In that vile profile all are lost,
 Only some features left!—I swear,
 'Tis not Maria! but her ghost.

III.

O! did Appelle's genius warm,
 Or had I Raphael's skill divine:
 Their brightest works should cease to charm,
 And Venus' portrait yield to thine.

IV.

They drew a Nymph they never saw,
 Then call'd her Love's bright deity,
 My goddess from the life I'd draw,
 And to paint *her* but copy *thee*.

V.

Carnation and the blushing rose,
 Should, blended with the lily, vie,
 And grace, beyond all art disclose,
 The mild blue lustre of thy eye.

VI.

The loves and graces round should stand,
Or lightly hov'ring o'er thy head,
With gentle impulse prompt my hand,
And sweetly mingle light and shade.

VII.

And, lest this matchless piece of mine,
Should tempt me to idolatry;
Soon as I felt the heath'nish sin,
I'd turn from that and gaze on thee!

VIII.

Yet as mere picture ne'er could show,
The beauties latent in thy mind,
The heav'n-born muse should this pursue,
The pen be with the pencil join'd.

IX.

The loveliest form, the fairest face,
The brightest eye, the gentlest mind,
And every virtue, charm, and grace,
Should be to endless fame consign'd.

X.

Posterity thus blest by me,
Should read and gaze, and read again;
For that blue shade an angel see,
And, for my rhymes, read Homer's strain.

PAUL JONES.

PART II.

THE year 1781 was to Jones a period of reward for past services and disappointments; of grateful and honourable repose after long and harassing perplexities, and of well founded expectation of a distinguished command in future. Its annals, so far as he was connected with them, may be summarily recited. His reputation as a commander was exalted in America, and report had even exaggerated his actions. Dr. Lee, who had found out that Landais was insane, and upon whose testimony before a court martial the latter had been broke, was now prepared to go with the current, and even appear as the friend of Jones. The board of admiralty, in reporting on "the reasons, that the public clothing and military stores had not been imported," had stated to Congress on the 2d November of the previous year, that "it appeared Captain Landais regained command of the Alliance by the advice of Mr. Lee, notwithstanding his suspension by Dr. Franklin, who, by the direction of the marine committee, had the sole management of our marine affairs in Europe."

Jones landed at Philadelphia on the 18th of February. On the following day, a motion was offered, that he should be directed to appear before that body, to give all the information in his power relative to the detention of the clothing and arms in France, intended for Washington's army; and that the doors should be open, during the examination: After debate, on

motion of Mr. Adams, the consideration of this proposition was postponed. A regular inquiry into many particulars of Jones' cruises, from November, 1777, when he left Portsmouth in the *Ranger*, was necessary, and in course ; and on the 20th, forty-seven questions were drawn up by the board of admiralty, which he was required to answer as soon as possible. Two of the questions were afterwards extended, to enable his formal answers to meet every point of interrogatory, which he did with singular promptness ; but before such formal reply was, or could have been rendered, the letter of M. de la Sartine had been referred to a committee, upon whose report the following resolutions were adopted on the 27th :

“ *Resolved*, That the Congress entertain a high sense of the distinguished bravery and military conduct of John Paul Jones, Esq. captain in the navy of the United States, and particularly in his victory over the British frigate *Serapis* on the coast of England, which was attended with circumstances so brilliant as to excite general applause and admiration :

“ That the minister plenipotentiary of these United States at the court of Versailles, communicate to his most christian majesty, the high satisfaction Congress has received from the conduct and gallant behaviour of Captain John Paul Jones, which have merited the attention and approbation of his most christian majesty, and that his majesty's offer of adorning Captain Jones with a cross of military merit is highly acceptable to Congress.”

In consequence, M. de la Luzerne gave a *fête* to all the members of Congress, and to the principal inhabitants of Philadelphia, and in their presence, he, in the name of his majesty, invested the commodore with the order of military merit.

The answers of the chevalier to all the forty-seven interrogatories were given early in March. They are terse, frank, and perspicuous. The board of admiralty were in the same dilemma, as to the authority under which some of the deputy prize agents acted, that every person will fall into on reading the correspondence of Jones at the time ; and he was still in some

uncertainty as to this point, in rendering an explanation. He mentioned in his second answer, that he sent to the commissioners the scheme afterwards adopted for Count D'Estaing's expedition. On his right to claim the merit of originating this project, we have already remarked. He would scarcely have now openly claimed it in the face of the world, if contradiction and consequent humiliation had been like to result from his so doing. He could proudly say, in answer to the 8th interrogatory, "I never have borne nor acted under any other commission than that of the Congress of America." He stated in reply to searching queries about his objects and projects, that he had a variety of the latter, but as to many of them, no person was in his secret. His main and prominent purpose was to effect the liberty and exchange of American citizens, "confined as pirates, felons, and traitors, in the dungeons of England." His "second was, the honour of the American flag." At whose expense the Alliance had been provided for, he was not aware. He believed that the American officers and men, had received from their agents, some part of the shares arising from the sales of prizes taken by the squadron under his command; but it was their own private transaction. He repeated his assertion, (which he believed, without evidence, to be correct,) that M. de Chaumont, the *commissary*, had been intrusted with funds by the government, for the expense of the armament, which he withheld. He gave a satisfactory account of the reasons why the clothing and arms had not been forwarded, and of the reasons for the delay of the sailing of the *Ariel* in relation to which there were five or six very precise questions. His biographer in the *Edinburgh Life* did not examine dates or facts, when he thought it necessary not merely to apologize for the latter delay of that ship, but to admit that Jones was accessary to it, after the disaster in September. To the last question he replied, that the officers and crew of the *Ariel* had enlisted for three years,*

* Or during the war, as elsewhere appears.

except a few who entered at L'Orient for one year, after the ship put back, and that they were at the expense of the United States. There is nothing else requiring present notice in these clear headed replies to diversified interrogations, and complicated and disconnected matters, which has not been previously explained. Jones was mistaken on one point only; and his error arose from an excitement of feeling, the prompting cause of which, the sufferings of poor seamen, was a proper one. "The light that led astray was light from heaven," which human weakness saw through a discoloured medium.

On the 28th March, the board of admiralty made a report, purporting to be in pursuance of two resolutions of Congress, passed in the previous year, inquiring into the causes of the delay in the arrival of the stores and clothing. They stated, that the procrastinated investigation had been resumed on the arrival of Jones, and that, on propounding their questions to him, with a view to a full explanation, they had desired him "to subjoin to his answers all such matters as he might think would throw light on their inquiry." The questions and answers accompanied the report, with the voluminous correspondence of Jones, referred to in the margin of the answers, where immediately connected with them, the rest being arranged in four bundles. The board were "fully satisfied," that the delay "had not been owing in any measure to a want of the closest attention to that business, either in the minister plenipotentiary of the United States, or to Captain Jones; who had, on the contrary, made every application and used every effort to accomplish that purpose; but that it was owing to Captain Landais' taking the command of the Alliance, contrary to the express orders of Dr. Franklin, and proceeding with her to America." It then set forth the sentence of the court martial held on Landais, and that, after he had been dismissed from the service, a further prosecution was deemed improper; that Jones had vainly endeavoured to procure an additional vessel for the transportation of the clothing; that the court of France had furnished no money to the American minister, to enable him to procure

clothing ; that they had commissioned M. Le Ray de Charmont to do so, and that Mr. J. Williams of Nantes, and Messrs. Goulade and Moylan acted solely under his orders. They acquitted Jones of negligence in suffering the brig Luke to sail from L'Orient, with a part of this clothing on board, in the latter part of October, without waiting for the convoy of the Ariel, as he had not been spoken to by Goulade and Moylan, and had no control over her himself. They then, after enumerating the actions of Jones, reported that, "ever since he first became an officer in the navy of those States, he hath shown an unremitting attention in planning and executing enterprises calculated to promote the essential interests of our glorious cause. That in Europe, although in his expedition through the Irish Channel, in the Ranger, he did not fully accomplish his purpose, yet he made the enemy feel that it is in the power of a small squadron, under a brave and enterprising commander, to retaliate the conflagrations of our defenceless towns. That returning from Europe, he brought with him the esteem of the greatest and best friends of America ; and hath received from the illustrious monarch of France that reward of warlike virtue, which his subjects receive by a long series of faithful services or uncommon merit.

"The board are of opinion that the conduct of Paul Jones merits particular attention, and some distinguished mark of approbation from the United States in Congress assembled."

It may here be as well stated, chronologically, that the "brave Captain John Barry," as Jones called him, and as he was at this moment proving himself, sailed in command of the Alliance from Boston in February, having on board Colonel Laurens, specially commissioned by Congress to the court at Versailles. Having landed the envoy at L'Orient, he sailed thence on the 30th March, and three days afterwards redeemed the credit of the Alliance, by taking with no great trouble, a couple of ships, which Landais, if he had acted consistently, would, according to the testimony, have run away from.

The report of the board of admiralty, having been referred

to a committee, on the coming in of their report, Congress passed the following resolution on the 14th April.

“Resolved, That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled, be given to Captain John Paul Jones, for the zeal, prudence, and intrepidity with which he has supported the honour of the American flag; for his bold and successful enterprises to redeem from captivity the citizens of the States who had fallen under the power of the enemy; and in general, for the good conduct and eminent services by which he has added lustre to his character, and to the American arms:

“That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled, be also given to the officers and men who have faithfully served under him from time to time, for their steady affection to the cause of their country, and the bravery and perseverance they have manifested therein.”

The next in order of these truly glorious testimonials, is a letter from the father of his country; the man whom “modern degeneracy had not reached,” and whom it is foolish to say that modern degeneracy has equalled.

“Head Quarters, New Windsor, 15th May, 1781.

“SIR,

“My partial acquaintance with either our naval or commercial affairs makes it altogether impossible for me to account for the unfortunate delay of those articles of military stores and clothing which have been so long provided in France.

“Had I had any particular reasons to have suspected you of being accessory to that delay, which I assure you has not been the case, my suspicions would have been removed by the very full and satisfactory answers which you have, to the best of my knowledge, made to the questions proposed to you by the board of admiralty, and upon which that board have, in their report to Congress, testified the high sense which they entertain of your merits and services.”

“Whether our naval affairs have in general been well or ill conducted would be presumptuous in me to determine. Instances

of bravery and good conduct in several of our officers have not, however, been wanting. Delicacy forbids me to mention *that particular one* which has attracted the admiration of all the world, and which has influenced the most illustrious monarch to confer a mark of his favour which can only be obtained by a long and honourable service, or by the performance of some brilliant action.

“ That you may long enjoy the reputation you have so justly acquired is the sincere wish of,

“ Sir, your most obedient servant,

“ GEO. WASHINGTON.”

With such expressions of official and public approbation in his favour, Jones says in his journal, that he addressed Congress on the 28th May, but “ modestly rested his pretensions to rank only on the commission he held as the eldest of the first grades of lieutenants in the navy, under the United Colonies ; because by all rule and example of military promotion, that commission entitled him to rank before all persons who did not enter into the sea service of the continent as early as himself, unless preference had been given to other gentlemen, on account of their known superior abilities, which had not been the case. Congress referred the application to the Honourable Messrs. Varnum, Mathews, and Clymer. Mr. Varnum, the chairman, informed Captain Jones that the committee agreed in opinion, and would report to Congress, that he had been very unfairly treated in the arrangement of naval rank, adopted October 10th, 1776 ; and that the conduct and services of Captain Jones had merited that he should be promoted to the rank of rear admiral. But before Congress had time to act upon the report of their committee, opposition was made to the application of Captain Jones, by one or two captains whose names had been placed before him, on their first introduction to the sea service of the continent. Upon this Congress recommitted the report. But this did not, however, lessen the pretensions of Captain Jones, either in the opinion of the committee or of Congress.” This

remark is verified by the acts of that body. On the 16th June, the following report was made from the admiralty office.

“ The board, to whom was referred the letters and other papers relative to the conduct of John Paul Jones, Esq. beg leave to report, that they have carefully perused said letters and papers, wherein they find favourable mention is made of his abilities as an officer by the Duke de Vauguyon, M. de Sartine, and Dr. Franklin; and this is also corroborated by that valour and intrepidity with which he engaged his Britannic Majesty's ship, the *Serapis*, of forty-four cannon, 12 and 18 pounders, which, after a severe contest for several hours, surrendered to his superior valour, thereby acquiring honour to himself and dignity to the American flag.

“ The board therefore humbly conceive that an honourable testimony should be given to Captain Paul Jones, commander of the *Bon Homme Richard*, his officers and crew, for their many singular services in annoying the enemy on the British coasts, and particularly for their spirited behaviour in an engagement with his Britannic Majesty's ship of war, the *Serapis*, on the 23d of September, 1779, and obliging her to surrender to the American flag.”

Other reports from the same quarter, recapitulating the particulars of Jones' services, bore unequivocal testimony to his ingenuous patriotism, during the whole course of his engagement in the public service. On the 23d June, it was resolved, that Robert Morris, Esq. should be authorised to take measures for speedily launching and equipping for sea the ship *America*, then on the stocks at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, and that Congress should proceed, three days thereafter, to the appointment of a commander of that vessel. Accordingly, on the 26th, the following entry is found in the Journals: “ Congress proceeded to the appointment of a captain, to command the ship *America*; and, the ballots being taken, John P. Jones, Esq. was unanimously elected.” Jones says, that other captains had been put in nomination against him; and as the new ship was the only one of the line then belonging to this government, the competi-

tion for the command was in fact a test of the disposition Congress would make of the delicate question of rank. He could not but have been highly satisfied with the result ; and draws the conclusion that, by virtue of the Act of Congress, passed November 15th, 1776, he held after this election, a rank equivalent to that of colonel, " with the exclusive rank of captain of the line ; while none of the other captains, as they had only commanded frigates under forty guns, could claim any higher rank than that of lieutenant colonel. " Thus," he continues, " Congress took a delicate method to avoid cabal, and to do justice. It was more agreeable to Captain Jones to be so honourably elected captain of the line, than to have been, as was proposed by the committee, raised at once to the rank of rear admiral ; because Congress had not then the means of giving him a command suitable to that rank." In a document published in the Appendix to the first part of this work, his opinions on the subject of naval rank, and what should be the qualifications of officers, are stated in full. To that we refer the reader generally, as comprising in substance a variety of observations made on these subjects by him at different periods, which occur in several of the letters and official communications from him, which are preserved. How much he had reflected on the topic, and how highly he rated the dignity and duties of a naval commander will there be seen, and best understood.

The board of admiralty was dissolved at this time, and Mr. Morris, minister of finance, became also minister of the marine. He directed Jones, before proceeding to take command of the *America*, to exhibit his accounts to Congress. He had received a small share of prize money from some of his captures, but not a farthing for pay or subsistence up to this period. His accounts were approved as exhibited ; " but," he says " there was no interest allowed for considerable advances that had been made for nearly five years ; nor was there any thing allowed for his subsistence, or the various losses he had sustained in the service, as he had, from delicacy, left those

items blank in his accounts.”* He was personally embarrassed at this time, as were many of the gallant men who were putting at stake all present interest and future hopes, in the cause of independence, by the poverty of the government. This will appear from a letter in the subjoined note. He observes in his journal, (I quote from the original rough draft of this part of it,)

* In Jones' account current, rendered to the marine committee, as per date, on the 24th October, 1777, the balance due to him, “ exclusive of any concern with the ship *Ranger*, balance of wages, &c.” is stated at £1,538, Pennsylvania currency. A commission of 5 per cent. is charged on the sum total of the amount charged against the committee. In another account rendered on the 1st November, in the same year 1777, the sum of \$5,900 is charged against the committee, as bounty money advanced to the crew of the *Ranger*. There is another account of the same date, made out against the committee, amounting to \$2,891, for sundry expenses incurred in supplying the *Ranger*, enlisting seamen, overtaking deserters, personal expenses, &c. In an account, dated at the *Texel*, November 29th, 1779, he charges 352 ducats for contingent disbursements, 100 of which were paid to the *Hull* pilot, John Jackson, “ for smart money.” The stores he had purchased and lost in the *Alliance*, amounted to a considerable item. These are all the particulars contained in the vouchers in the compiler's hands, dated previous to the year 1781. On the 26th of June, in that year, he rendered his account as mentioned in the text. He charges for pay, as the senior first lieutenant of the navy, twenty dollars per month, from December 7th, 1775, to May 10th, 1776; and, as captain in the navy from that period to the date of the account, sixty dollars per month, making £1,400 5s, Pennsylvania currency. In a certified copy of his account current, by which it appears that there was due to him in Pennsylvania currency £2,034, he makes the following charge, in blank, after stating a balance: “ To rations from the 7th of December, 1775, to this date, for myself and servant, having commanded a squadron in Europe;” and thereunder is written, “ Due the Chevalier Paul Jones ———,” also in blank, leaving it to Congress to make such allowance as they might deem proper. None was made, as is stated in the text. The following letter, written two days after the date of this account current, will show that Jones was in immediate want of resources for personal comfort and convenience.

“ *Philadelphia, July 28, 1781.*

“ SIR,

“ In consequence of the Act of the United States, in Congress assembled, of the 25th of this month, approving of my accounts, No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, and referring them to the board of treasury, to take order, I have waited on that board in hopes of receiving cash to the amount of £400, to pay small debts I owe in this city, and defray the expenses of my journey to Portsmouth in New Hampshire; but the board has not

“ he had, like many other supporters of the revolution, hurt his private fortune, by the early advances he had made to the continental loan office.”

He was assured that ways and means would be provided for him to put to sea, within six months from the day of his election as commander of the *America*. He conferred with Mr. Morris on the plan he had suggested to the French ministry, of forming a light combined squadron to annoy the enemy; and that gentleman assented to its utility. The chevalier left Philadelphia, as he expresses himself, “with a pleasing hope of being soon in a situation that would enable him to manifest his gratitude for the honours he had received, by rendering essential services to the common cause of America and France.” On his way to Portsmouth, he paid a visit to General Washington and Count Rochambeau, at White Plains, where the combined armies were encamped. He wore his cross as Chevalier of the order of Merit, on this occasion; but, he says, as it was hinted to him that he might offend the people of the eastern States, by

complied with my demand. In my letter to your excellency, dated the 17th of this month, I observed that, I had been obliged to *borrow* a considerable part of the cash I had advanced for the public service. And the accounts from No. 1, to 6 inclusive, being cash I have advanced, (a considerable part whereof from four to five years ago,) I hope Congress will be pleased to order that the said accounts, from No. 1 to 6 inclusive, be paid either in cash or bills of exchange on Europe, to enable me to pay the debts I have contracted in France. I have made no charge for interests on the advances I have made; but submit that matter to Congress, to allow it or not as they think fit. I pray the honourable House to direct, that I may be furnished immediately with cash, to the amount of £400, to enable me to proceed to New Hampshire, to testify by my conduct the very grateful sense I have of the high honour Congress has conferred on me by my late appointment. It is necessity alone that compels me to make this application, having no friends of my own at this time in a situation to answer my wants, and having failed in attempts to borrow. I am with profound respect,

“ Sir, your excellency’s most obedient, and most humble servant,

“ HIS EX. THO. M. KEAN, Esq. (Signed.) “THE CHEVALIER PAUL JONES.
“ *President of the U. States in Congress assembled.*

“ N. B. The balance due on the within mentioned accounts, exclusive of interest, &c. is £5,413, 18s, 7 3-4d. And the rations ought to be also allowed in proportion to equal rank and command in the army, deducting only the time occupied in the journey as expressed in the detail of charges.”

continuing to exhibit that article, he laid it aside as soon as he had left head quarters.

He thus proceeds with his commentaries : " On his arrival at Portsmouth, which was at the end of August, he found his prospects greatly circumscribed, and involved in many difficulties, that neither his friends nor himself had foreseen at Philadelphia. The *America*, instead of being ready to be launched, was not half built ; and there was neither timber, iron, nor any other material prepared for finishing her. Money would not have procured the necessary articles of equipment and men before winter. But money was wanting ; for the navy board at Boston had otherwise applied the funds, which the minister of finance had destined for the *America* ; and he had so many demands to meet, on account of the troops then detached from White Plains, on the secret expedition against Lord Cornwallis in Virginia, that he found it impossible to make the necessary advances. The business was, however, begun immediately, and some progress made in the construction before the winter.

In a letter written by him to the secretary of the admiralty at Boston, on the 24th of November in this year, he says : " I wish you to see as well as hear the situation of affairs here, that we may either adopt effectual measures, or give up a fruitless pursuit." In the same letter he mentions it as a matter of reproach to the service, that the officers of the *Alliance* had sold some of the articles on board, which were his private property ; and had not been called to an account, " for their repeated misconduct, mutiny, and rebellion in that ship ;" and that " a board had received with approbation other officers, who had deserted from the service in Europe." He speaks of these things as matters of report, and some of them probably were no more. Congress had far more important business on hand.

The capitulation of Cornwallis in the middle of October, and the events preceding and consequent upon it, formed the subjects of a letter from Jones to La Fayette, as we learn from the following reply, dated December 22d

"I have been honoured with your polite favour, my dear Paul Jones, but before it reached me I was already on board the *Alliance*, and every minute expecting to put to sea. It would have afforded me great satisfaction to pay my respects to the inhabitants of Portsmouth, and the State in which you are for the present. As to the pleasure to take you by the hand, my dear Paul Jones, you know my affectionate sentiments, and my very great regard for you, so that I need not add any thing on that subject.

"Accept of my best thanks for the kind expressions in your letter. His Lordship's (Lord Cornwallis) downfall is a great event, and the greater, as it was equally and amicably shared by the two allied nations. Your coming to the army I had the honour to command, would have been considered as a very flattering compliment to one who loves you and knows your worth. I am impatient to hear that you are ready to sail; and I am of opinion that we ought to unite under you every continental ship we can muster, with such a body of well appointed marines (*troupes de mer*) as might cut a good figure ashore, and then give you plenty of provisions and *carte blanche*.

"I am sorry I cannot see you; I also had many things to tell you. Write me by good opportunities, but not often in ciphers, unless the matter is very important."

Three days after the date of this letter, we find Jones indicating the following matter to the anonymous lady in France.

"I wrote my most lovely Delia various letters from Philadelphia, the last of which was dated the 20th of June. On the 26th of that month I was unanimously elected by Congress to command the *America* of 74 guns, on the stocks, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. I superintended the building, which I found so much more backward than I expected, that a plan of operation I had in view is entirely defeated. I expected to have been at sea this winter, but the building does not go on with the vigour I could wish. Since I came here I have not found a single good opportunity to write to Europe. I have not since heard from your relation I left behind, but suppose he is with the

army. This situation is doubly irksome to me, my lovely friend, as it stops my pursuit of honour as well as love! It is now more than twelve months since I left France, yet I have not received a single letter from thee in all that time, except the one written in answer to my letter at taking leave. That one is a tender letter indeed, and does honour to thy matchless heart!"

The "plan of operation" was not only defeated, but Jones was again to be altogether disappointed, in obtaining command of the *America*, as he had been in the case of the *Indien*. We are, however, anticipating forthcoming events; the unavoidable fault of all who have undertaken a biography of this commander. What John Adams thought of his plans of operation at this time, appears from the following extracts of a letter, dated at the Hague, August 12th, 1782.

"The command of the *America* could not have been more judiciously bestowed, and it is with impatience that I wish her at sea, where she will do honour to her name. Nothing gives me so much surprise, or so much regret, as the inattention of my countrymen to their navy; it is a bulwark as essential as it is to Great Britain. It is less costly than armies; and more easily removed from one end of the United States to the other. * * * * Every day shows that the Batavians have not wholly lost their ancient character. They were always timid and slow in adopting their political systems, but always firm and able in support of them, and always brave and active in war. They have hitherto been restrained by their chiefs; but, if the war continues, they will show that they are possessed of the spirit of liberty, and that they have lost none of their great qualities.

"Rodney's victory has intoxicated Britain again to such a degree that I think there will be no peace for some time. Indeed, if I could see a prospect of half a dozen line of battle ships under the American flag, commanded by Commodore Paul Jones, engaged with an equal British force, I apprehend the event would be so glorious for the United States, and lay so sure a foundation for their prosperity, that it would be a rich compensation for a continuance of the war.

“However, it does not depend upon us to finish it. There is but one way to finish it, and that is, Burgoyning Carlton in New York.”

It will be proper to remember that the independence of the United States had been recognised by those of Holland in April, previous to the date of this letter ; that a commercial treaty was made in October following ; that the “intoxication” of the people of Great Britain soon passed away, so far as that can be called an expression of popular opinion, which is not a direct one ; and that the English government now began to give up the idea of waging war against these United States, because they could not carry it on any longer.

Jones says, that the task of inspecting the construction of the *America*, was “the most lingering and disagreeable service he was charged with during the period of the revolution. * * * But from the beginning, and almost to the end of the business, he had a prospect of carrying into effect by perseverance, the plan he had suggested for forming a light combined squadron. When the news of the surrender of Earl Cornwallis reached Portsmouth, a public rejoicing took place ; and as Captain Jones found it would not offend the people, he, on that glad occasion, resumed the decoration of military merit, and continued to wear it afterwards. As soon as the enemy had advice that there was a prospect of finishing the *America*, various schemes were suggested for destroying that ship. Intelligence of this was sent to Portsmouth, in cipher, by the minister of marine. Captain Jones made application to the government of New Hampshire for a guard, to protect the vessel ; and the assembly passed a resolution to comply with his demand. None was, however, furnished ; and, as a second alarm was sent to New Hampshire by General Washington, Mr. Hackett, the master builder and his associate were prevailed on to mount guard, with a party of the carpenters, by night.” For some time he paid this guard himself ; and took command of it, in his turn, with the master builders. Large whale boats, with muffled oars, came into the river, meanwhile, full of men, “and passed

and repassed the America in the night ; but dared not land on the little island where she was built."

The birth of the Dauphin of France was officially communicated to Congress in the summer of 1782. Public rejoicings took place in several of the States in consequence. Jones did not "let slip the opportunity," as he phrases it, "of testifying the pleasure and gratitude which he really felt." At his private expense he had artillery mounted on board of the America. She was decorated with the flags of different nations, displaying in front that of France ; "fired salutes as often as the forts, and thirteen royal salutes at the toast drunk at a public entertainment, and afterwards continued a *feu de joie* until midnight. When it became dark, she was brilliantly illuminated and displayed fire-works."* The Chevalier de la Luzerne, addressed to him a complimentary letter in consequence. Jones dwells with pleasure on matters of this kind ; and they belong to the reminiscences of the period. On the anniversary of our independence in that year he "made a similar rejoicing."

He gives the following description of the America : "Captain Jones did not approve nor follow the plan that had been proposed for finishing the upper works of the America. It had been intended to make the waist shallow with narrow gangways ; the quarter-deck and forecastle to be short, with a large stern-gallery. Instead of this, the quarter-deck was made to project four feet before the main-mast. The forecastle was also long, the waist deep, and the gangways broad and of equal height with the quarter-deck and forecastle. There was just room for the boats between the gangways. A breast-work, pierced with gun-ports, but of suitable height for musketry, and

* In one of the manuscripts preserved among the papers of Jones there is a formal bulletin in French of this "celebration made by Commodore Jones, at his own expense, on board the America, &c." We learn from it that three large lanterns were devised for the occasion, and that the fire-works continued until midnight. They had a very brilliant effect from the circumstance that it was a very dark night. All the inhabitants of the town, and its vicinity, were assembled on the banks of the river, and testified their admiration by every possible show of applause.

of the same strength and nature as the sides of the ship, ran all round the quarter-deck, gangway, and forecastle ; so that all the cannon on the quarter-deck and forecastle could have been fought on one side ; an advantage possessed by no other ship of the line we had. Above this breast-work, the poop-deck stood on pillars of eighteen inches long, and projected eight feet before the mizen-mast. Round the poop-deck a folding breast-work was made of light materials, and of a strength to resist grape-shot ; and, as it was made to fold down on the deck, and could be raised again in a minute, it was impossible to perceive that the America had a poop, at the distance of a quarter of a mile. There were only single quarter-galleries, and no stern-gallery ; and both the stern and bow were made very strong, so that the men at quarters might be every where under a good cover. The plan which Captain Jones projected for the sculpture expressed dignity and simplicity. The head was a female figure, crowned with laurels. The right arm was raised, with the forefinger pointing to heaven ; as appealing to that high tribunal for the justice of the American cause. On the left arm was a buckler, with a blue ground and thirteen silver stars. The legs and feet of the figure were covered here and there with wreaths of smoke, to represent the dangers and difficulties of war. On the stern, under the windows of the great cabin, appeared two large figures in bas-relief ; representing Tyranny and Oppression, bound and biting the ground, with the cap of Liberty on a pole, above their heads. On the back part of the starboard quarter-gallery was a large Neptune ; and, on the back part of the larboard quarter-gallery, a large Mars. Over the windows of the great cabin, on the highest part of the stern, was a large medallion, on which was a figure, representing Wisdom, surrounded by Danger, with the bird of Athens over her head. The America was fifty feet six inches, in the extreme breadth, and measured a hundred and eighty-two feet six inches, on the upper gun-deck. Yet this ship, though the largest of seventy-four guns in the world, had, when the lower battery was sunk, the air of a delicate frigate ; and no person

at the distance of a mile, could have imagined she had a second battery."

It would not have been proper to omit this description of a fine ship, which must be interesting to those who have skill enough to criticise her construction. As for the devices, we are somewhat at a loss to know how *Danger* was represented. It could not have been personified, as *surrounding* Wisdom ; and was probably emblematically expressed by flashes of lightning, &c. Those who have no technical knowledge whatever, but who have read the works of our countryman Cooper, will readily recognise in the picture Jones gives of the ship built under his direction, the same beau-ideal of combined grace and strength after which the vessel commanded by the *Red Rover*, and that navigated by the *Pilot*, were modelled ; beautiful in their proportions as *Semele*, and, like her, delivered in thunder.

But this fair frigate was not to be commanded by him who had watched her construction for more than a year, with the hope of "moving the monarch of her peopled deck." At the close of the summer of this year, the *Magnifique*, a seventy-four gun ship, belonging to the French squadron under the Marquis de Vaudreuil, was lost by accident in the harbour of Boston. Policy, and perhaps equity, rendered it expedient for Congress to present to France their solitary ship of the line ; and a resolution to that effect was passed on the 3d of September. Other motives may have had their weight, in making this disposition of the *America* ; and they seem to be alluded to in the following letter from Mr. Morris, written the day after the resolution was adopted.

" *Marine Office, September 4, 1782.*

"DEAR SIR,

"The enclosed resolution will show you the destination of the ship *America*. Nothing could be more pleasing to me than this disposition, excepting so far as you are affected by it. I know you so well as to be convinced that it must give you great pain, and I sincerely sympathize with you. But although you

will undergo much concern at being deprived of this opportunity to reap laurels on your favourite field, yet your regard for France will in some measure alleviate it ; and to this your good sense will naturally add the delays which must have happened in fitting the ship for sea. I must entreat you to continue your inspection until she is launched, and to urge forward the business. When that is done, if you will come hither I will explain to you the reasons which led to this measure, and my views of employing you in the service of your country. You will on your route have an opportunity of conferring with the general on the blow you mentioned to me in one of your letters." * * * *

Jones submitted to his disappointment, for such it must have been, without any ebullitions of vexation, or murmurs of discontent. In his journal, he says, that "he was not made acquainted with the minister's project for employing him, after the *America* should be launched.* And the Act of Congress of September 3d, after all the pains he had taken for sixteen months to finish that ship, did not even mention his name; which notice, it is presumed, might not have been inconsistent with the dignity of that Act, nor disagreeable to the monarch who honoured him with particular marks of his attention. Captain Jones had had before him no good prospect ; and the *America* was the *tenth* command of which he had been deprived in the course of the Revolution. Had it been possible for him to foresee the lingering, disagreeable situation that awaited him at Portsmouth, he would have thanked Congress for the honour they did him, by unanimously electing him to that command, and asked their permission to join the army in Virginia, under his friend the Marquis de La Fayette, who, by a letter he wrote Captain Jones, December 22d, 1781, [which has been inserted,] showed how glad he would have been of that event, and that his ideas corresponded with the plan Captain Jones had sug-

* It must be remembered that a rough original draft is quoted from. It is more to be relied upon because it is such.

gested to the court of France, for forming a combined squadron; but which had not been communicated to the Marquis. Captain Jones bore his disappointment with firmness, and answered the minister's letter, on the 22d of September, in a manner so *gallant*, as produced a flattering answer in a letter of the 9th of October."

The answer was as follows: "I have received your letter of the 22d of last month. The sentiments contained in it will always reflect the highest honour upon your character. They have made so strong an impression upon my mind, that I immediately transmitted an extract of your letter to Congress. I doubt not, but they will view it in the same manner which I have done."

Jones proceeds in his rough notes, to say, that "he urged forward the business of launching the *America*, with his utmost energy. The difficulties were great. The ship was built on a very small island, situated in the river opposite the town of Portsmouth, belonging to the agent for supplying the materials. Between the stern and the opposite shore, which was a continual rock, the distance was no more than a hundred fathoms. From a few feet above the stern, a ledge of rocks projected two thirds of the distance across the river, making only an angle of twenty degrees with the keel. And, from a small bay on the opposite shore, the tide of flood continued to run with rapidity, directly over this ledge, for more than an hour after it was high water by the shore. It was necessary to launch exactly at high water, and to give the ship such a motion, as would make her pass round the point of the ledge of rocks, without touching the opposite shore; which, it is easy to perceive, was a difficult matter. It was impossible to fix stoccades in the river, on account of the current and the rocks. This defect could only be supplied by anchors and cables. A large anchor was fixed in the ground, under the bow, from which depended cables of a proper length and ranged in a manner so as to be drawn gently after the ship, when put in motion, and with various slight stoppers at proper distances, to break one after another, so as to diminish her

velocity by degrees. When every thing was prepared, Captain Jones stood on the highest part of the brow, or gangway that ascended from the ground to the bow of the ship. From that position he could perfectly see the motion of the ship ; and determine by a signal the instant when it was proper to let go one or both of the anchors that were hung at the bows, and slip the end of the cable that depended on the anchor, fixed in the ground on the island. The operation succeeded perfectly to his wish, and to the admiration of a large assembly of spectators." Thus was the America launched ; and well might Jones have recited the "*sic vos non vobis*," as she went into the water. It is for those who are scientific, and know the localities, to judge critically of the fitness of the means adopted to introduce her into the element over which she was to bear the flag of France. Jones commends highly the perseverance and ingenuity of the master builder, Major Hackett, who had never seen a ship of the line when he drew her plan ; and who had no more than twenty carpenters at work, at any time, while her construction was in progress. He says, "the workmanship was far superior to any before seen in naval architecture ; and it would only have been necessary that the Abbé Reynal should have seen the America, to have induced him to give the world a very different idea of the continent, of which that elegant ship bore the name."

The flags of the two allies were displayed on the poop at the launch ; and Jones, having caused the ship to be safely moored, delivered her on the same day, November 5th, to the Chevalier de Martigne, who had commanded the *Magnifique*. He set out for Philadelphia on the next morning, and there learned "that unforeseen circumstances had defeated the project for employing him on a *secret* expedition." When La Fayette requested him "not to write often in ciphers," he expressed a wish in which every one, whose business or pleasure it is to make out his history, will cordially sympathize. The Chevalier himself, however, explains in the same document we have been quoting from, what *this secret* expedition was. He says, that when he "determined to return to America, to submit his con-

duct to the judgment of Congress," with the hope of commanding a combined squadron by which he might annoy the enemy, "as the *Indien* was not thought necessary to assist in effecting the scheme, the king lent her for three years to the Chevalier de Luxembourg; and that nobleman contracted with Commodore Gillan, in the service of the State of South Carolina to command that ship," the prince having his share of the profits arising from the sale of prizes. When the *Indien* sailed, which was not until long after Jones left the Texel, it was under the name of the South Carolina. She took some merchantmen and carried them to Havana; and thence, on her way to Philadelphia, joined the convoy destined against New Providence, which surrendered immediately to the Spanish arms. She arrived in Philadelphia in a condition which rendered great repairs necessary. It was Mr. Morris' intention, according to Jones, to give him the command of this vessel, the time for which she had been chartered having nearly expired; the terms of the charter being, that she should, at its expiration be delivered in good order, in a port of France, and Chevalier de la Luzerne on behalf of the king of France "yielding his most ready concurrence. It was their intention to join the *Gaudaloupe* frigate and some other force, and put the whole under the orders of Captain Jones." Colonel Laurens "had made large advances to Commodore Gillan in Holland, on account of the United States, on condition that he would transport a quantity of clothing to America, for the army under General Washington. No account had been rendered to the Chevalier de Luxembourg of prize money, &c. and he had sent powers to the Chevalier de la Luzerne" to insist upon his rights. Mr. Morris on behalf of the United States, and the French ambassador on behalf of the prince, thus severally urged demands against Commodore Gillan, who, far from being able to meet them, if they were well founded, "found infinite difficulty in procuring the necessary funds for repairs." The two ministers had therefore, "concluded that the State of South Carolina, and even Commodore Gillan himself, would easily consent to resign all

further pretension to the frigate in question. * * * * They were, however, mistaken, and Commodore Gillan out-generalled them both. When they found he had got the ship below the chevaux de frise with her cannon on board, and that he was arrested by the sheriff for a large sum, &c.” Jones proceeds to state matters of rumour. The commodore, however, after remaining several days on board, proceeded homeward by land, and the South Carolina made sail and was captured. She was an unlucky vessel, and the merchant who built her in Holland, was nearly, if not quite, ruined by the contract.

Jones wrote to the minister of marine on the 29th November, “requesting that unless Congress had some service of greater consequence for him, he might be ordered back to Boston, to embark as a volunteer in pursuit of military marine knowledge with his excellency the Marquis de Vaudreuil, in order to enable him the better to serve his country, when America should increase her navy.” On the same day, Mr. Morris sent to the president of Congress a copy of that letter with the following remarks: “The present state of our affairs does not permit me to employ that valuable officer, and I confess that it is with no small degree of concern that I consider the little probability of rendering his talents useful to that country, which he has already so faithfully served, and with so great disinterestedness.

“His present desire to be sent with the Marquis de Vaudreuil to join Count d’Estaing on his projected expedition from Cadiz against Jamaica, &c. consists with all his former conduct; and it will, I dare say, be a very pleasing reflection to Congress, that he is about to pursue a knowledge of his profession, so as to become still more useful if ever he should be again called to the command of a squadron or fleet. I should do injustice to my own feelings, as well as to my country, if I did not most warmly recommend this gentleman to the notice of Congress, whose favour he has certainly merited by the most signal services and sacrifices.”

Congress granted the request thus made; and resolved, “that the agent of marine be informed that Congress having a high

sense of the merit and services of Captain J. P. Jones, and being disposed to favour the zeal manifested by him to acquire improvement in the line of his profession, do grant the permission which he requests, and that the said agent be instructed to recommend him accordingly to the countenance of his excellency the Marquis de Vaudreuil."

Jones immediately repaired to Boston, with letters for the Marquis de Vaudreuil, from Mr. Morris and the Chevalier de Luzerne. He was received on board of the *Triomphante*, the Marquis' own ship, with every mark of attention. That vessel was very much crowded by the army of the Count de Rochambeau, then embarked under the orders of the Baron de Viomenil. Sixty officers were at table every day. Jones is particular in recording, that the Baron and the Marquis de Laval were lodged in the larboard side of the round-house; and that the starboard side was assigned to him. The squadron, consisting of ten sail of the line, sailed on the 24th of December, and gave convoy to several French transports and twenty sail of merchantmen. "It was the intention of the admiral to go off Portsmouth, to join his brother the Count de Vaudreuil, who had in that port under his orders, the *Auguste* of 80 guns, and the *Pluton* of 74. Wind and weather prevented the junction, and the ships of war were forced into a disagreeable situation in the Bay of Fundy, besides separating from the convoy. Eventually the squadron steered to the southward, and continued for ten days off the harbour of St. Johns, in Porto Rico, performing various naval evolutions. At making the land, the admiral had advice that Admiral Hood, with sixteen ships of the line, was cruising off Cape François; and that Admiral Pigot, with a greater force, lay at St. Lucca. So that the enemy imagined the force under the Marquis de Vaudreuil must necessarily fall a prey either to Hood or Pigot. The marquis took sixteen sail of transports with provisions and stores, out of a large convoy then arrived from France at St. John's, and bore away round the west end of Porto Rico. Some of Admiral Hood's look-out vessels got sight of the squadron in the Mona passage,

and set out immediately to give information that the marquis was proceeding down the south side of Hispaniola. They were mistaken. The squadron steered to the southward, by the wind, and made the island of Curagoa to windward. The rendezvous that had been fixed on between Don Solano, the Spanish admiral, and the Marquis de Vaudreuil, at Cape François, after the defeat of the *Compte de Grasse*, was kept a profound secret, and no person had an idea of the intended port. The squadron beat to windward for many days, along the coast of South America, without either pilots or good charts. All the transports were driven to leeward by the current, and lost sight of the ships of war. In the night, the *Burgoyne* of 74 guns ran on a rock two leagues from the shore, and was totally lost, with two hundred of her officers and men, among whom was the first lieutenant. On the 18th February, 1783, the *Triomphante* got safe into the road of Porto Cabello, where the *Auguste* and *Pluton* had arrived a few days before. The remainder of the squadron soon after arrived safe. The transports, not being able to gain Porto Cabello, bore away for St. Domingo. Don Solano had promised to meet the marquis at Porto Cabello in December, but did not keep his word. He was superseded and ordered home from the Havana to Spain. It was also at Porto Cabello, that the combined force of France and Spain from Cadiz, under Count d'Estaing, was to join them under Vaudreuil and Solano. As neither of these junctions took place, and no news arrived of the reasons of the detention, it was most disagreeable to be kept in inaction, in a place in itself highly unpleasant." Jones found it especially so. He had hoped "to see war both by sea and land, on a great scale, and to learn at the first military school in the world. Count d'Estaing would have found under his command, in the West Indies, upwards of seventy ships of the line, which, with the great combined land army that was prepared, would infallibly have taken Jamaica, and beaten the British sea force in that part of the world. Captain Jones, as he had known Jamaica, flattered himself with the expectation of having a place near that gallant

officer, and that he would have been honoured with a share of his confidence. After much vain expectation and disappointment, several of the officers, and Captain Jones among others, fell sick and were dangerously ill. At last the news of general PEACE arrived, by a frigate from France and Martinico. The most splendid success, and the most improving experience in war, could not have afforded Captain Jones a pleasure any way to be compared to what he felt on learning that Great Britain had, after so long a struggle, been forced formally to acknowledge the sovereignty, freedom, and independence of the United States of America." He did not write thus for effect. He felt as he wrote, though at a subsequent period, as he had felt at the time. He wrote from Porto Cabello, to the Countess de Laven-dahl, among his enclosures to the care of M. de Genet. French ladies meddle with politics; which Buonaparte thought a nuisance, though he made use of the custom for his own advancement. Jones did so too; and though, in his simplicity and imaginativeness, he seems to have put himself at one time, as has been remarked, under the necessity of making a tack in his correspondence with the one referred to, he certainly seemed to think that he had manœuvred himself completely out of the difficulty into which this small mistake had thrown him. In his letter to the countess, on the 28th February, he assures her that "his principles are invariably the same." He had learned by a letter from M. de Genet, that, the lady supposed he had not pursued with constant zeal the projects he contemplated executing in France, and with which, all secret as they were, and though M. de Chaumont had given him such an awful warning, by his communicativeness not to divulge them, he had made the fair lady acquainted. He said, "I hope to return to France, and am persuaded you will rather feel compassion for my disappointment, than withdraw from me any part of your esteem." The letter was polite and politic. In his epistle to M. de Genet, he returns his respectful compliments to Miss Edes. That lady could not, therefore, have been accessory to the newspaper reports in London, of the chevalier's movements at court in

1779; and they were all, probably, "such stuff as dreams are made of." At the same time, under cover to M. de Genet, he transmitted a letter to the Marquis de Castries, to be submitted to the inspection of the fair countess, giving an account of his position, and in good set terms, requesting to be held in remembrance by his most christian majesty.

He also wrote to the Duc de la Rochefoucault, from Porto Cabello, on the 27th February, giving an account of the circumstances which had placed him in the squadron. This letter contains the following remarks: "The English affairs seem in so bad a situation in the East Indies, that I think even the most sanguine among them can expect no manner of advantage for continuing the war; for, as Spain has at last wisely abandoned the siege of Gibraltar, and, as we are told, doubled her ships with copper, I cannot think the English so blind as not to see the great risk they run of being as effectually humbled by sea, as they are by land, should they neglect the present moment to make their peace. * * * * I most ardently wish for peace; for, humanity tells me there has been too much blood spilt already. I am in hopes to have the happiness, soon after the war, to revisit France."

On the same day of the month, he wrote to Mr. Morris, giving an account of the operations of the squadron, and making remarks on the prospect of peace to the same effect as those above quoted. He says: "I have already received much useful information since I embarked, and am on such happy terms with the admiral and officers, both of the fleet and army, that I have nothing to wish from them. Deeply sensible how highly favoured I am, in being thus placed, I beg you to express my gratitude to Congress on the occasion, and to the Chevalier de Luzerne. The Marquis de Vaudreuil is promoted to the rank of lieutenant general, and now carries a vice admiral's flag. There are many other promotions in the squadron." On the 15th March, writing to La Fayette, he expressed himself in like terms to those in his letter to the Duc de la Rochefoucault, in relation to his losing the command of the *America*,

and the attention paid to him on board of the *Triomphante*, and by the officers of the whole fleet. He adds: "I am really happy to hear that justice has been rendered by his majesty to such distinguished worth and exertion as yours. No less indeed could be expected from such a prince to such a subject. We hear you are at Cadiz, in order to embark with his excellency Count D'Estaing. This would afford me the greatest pleasure, did not my love of glory give place to my more ardent wish for peace, and that you might have the happiness to carry over the olive branch, to a country that already owes you so much gratitude. Humanity has need of peace; but, though I was led to expect it from the late speech (from the throne,) I begin to fear it is yet at some distance. There seems to be a malignity in the English blood, which cannot be cured till, in mercy to the rest of mankind, it is let out, that the disease may not become epidemical. I pray you to present my most respectful compliments to the Count D'Estaing. If the war continues, I hope for the honour of making the campaign under his orders."

The country where he had been stigmatized as a pirate and traitor, could not expect complimentary language from the chevalier. Yet in the excitement of the moment, he said more than he meant to imply. The blood of old England is good enough—there is none better. But humbled national pride is not soon silent under its mortification; and half a century after this period we find it expressing itself through the tongues and pens of hirelings and vagabonds, in unmeaning sneers at institutions not understood, and manners and customs misrepresented.

Did Jones long for peace or war? Did his inclination point to that fair France, where the plaudits of a brilliant court, the notice of royalty, the friendship of nobles, and the presentation of the sword and star, had made him so happy? Or to the land for which he had fought, and which was too poor to give him the command of a ship of the line? He did not know himself. On the 16th of March, he thus wrote to John Ross, Esq. in the United States. "I had, my dear friend, the honour to write to

you from on board this ship, while sailing out of the harbour of Boston, the 24th December. I mentioned to you in that letter my wish respecting the purchase of a confiscated estate, situated between two navigable rivers, a little above Newark, within eight or ten miles of New York, and formerly owned by one Edwards,* who has been killed. I was told it contains a large tract of excellent land, which was valued before the revolution, at £8,000, but would be sold for a fourth part of that sum. As New York will probably be one of our first naval ports, the proximity of that estate made me the more desirous to own it. If, therefore, you should find on inquiry that I have been rightly informed, and if you can turn the merchandise in your hand into money, to answer for the purchase, I pray you to act for me as you would for yourself on the occasion. We have as yet no certain news from Europe, &c. If the peace should, as I wish it may, be concluded, I wish to establish myself on a place I can call my own, and to offer my hand to some fair daughter of liberty. If, on the contrary, Count D'Estaing should come out with fifty sail of the line, copper sheathed, and 18,000 troops, I shall have instructions at the greatest military school in the world, and I can have no doubt of finding opportunity of effecting the business we talked over at parting. Mr. Morris, I am assured, will not in that case let slip the occasion; and I am well persuaded, you will also take the necessary steps." We will take the chevalier's word, that he had no existing attachment or *liaison* in France, which prevented his offering himself to "some fair daughter of liberty."

The news of peace arrived, as has been mentioned, and the squadron sailed from Porto Cabello on the 8th of April, the day after the cessation of hostilities. After a passage of eight days, it arrived at Cape Francois, where the Spanish fleet had arrived a few days before. Jones received "particular marks of attention from the governor, M. de Bellecombe, as well as from Don

* A mistake."—Note in the margin, in his own handwriting

Galvez and the Spanish admiral. He embraced the first opportunity of a vessel bound for America, and arrived at Philadelphia on the 18th of May. The letters of which he was the bearer to the different functionaries at home, were such as must have been most gratifying to him. The Marquis de Vaudreuil in writing to the Chevalier de Luzerne, thus expressed himself: "M. Paul Jones, who embarked with me, returns to his beloved country. I was very glad to have him. His well deserved reputation caused me to accept his company with much pleasure; and I had no doubt that we should meet with some occasions in which his talents might be displayed. But peace, for which I cannot but rejoice, interposes an obstacle which renders our separation necessary. Permit me, sir, to pray you to recommend him to his chiefs. The particular acquaintance I have formed with him, since he has been on board of the *Triomphante* makes me take a lively interest in his fortunes; and I shall feel much obliged, if you can find means of doing him services." The Baron de Viomenil, commander of the land army on board of the squadron, wrote as follows to the ambassador.

"M. Paul Jones, who will have the honour of delivering to you, sir, this letter, has for five months deported himself among us with such wisdom and modesty as add infinitely to the reputation gained by his courage and exploits. I have reason to believe that he has preserved as much the feeling of gratitude and attachment towards France, as of patriotism and devotion to the cause of America. Such being his titles to attention, I take the liberty of recommending to you his interests, near the president and Congress." The admiral wrote directly to Mr. Morris, to the same effect, expressing his desire for the prosperity of "*ce brave et honnête homme.*"

The ill health which Jones speaks of, continued when he arrived at Philadelphia. He suffered from a violent intermitting fever, and spent the summer at Bethlehem, where he had the benefit of the cold bath. The idea of living on a fine farm in New Jersey, near a city whose future growth and commercial prosperity he shrewdly foresaw, with some fair "daughter

of liberty" as the matron head of the establishment, "in calm contemplation and poetic ease," must, no doubt, have been a vision which floated gratefully before his mind during moments of languor and uncertainty at Porto Cabello. It faded into thin air. He could not realize the amounts due to him from various quarters. Mr. Barclay, the consul general of France, had obtained no settlement of the prize money remaining due to the officers and crews of the squadron he last commanded, in which he was so considerably interested. On his application, Congress passed an Act on the 1st November, appointing him agent for all prizes, taken in Europe under his own command. * * * * He lodged bonds with the minister of finance, to the amount of \$200,000, to transmit to the continental treasury all the money he should recover, belonging to the citizens of America, who had served under his command in Europe; to be from thence paid to them individually by the minister. He chose to put the business on that footing, to prevent the possibility of any reproach.* He sailed the 10th of November from Philadelphia, in the Washington packet, for France; and after a passage of twenty days, landed at Plymouth in England; the packet having put in there, as the wind was unfavourable for Havre de Grace, the port of her destination. Having the public despatches in his charge, he set out immediately in a post chaise; and finding Mr. Adams, minister plenipotentiary for Holland, at London, who was persuaded that the packets for Dr. Franklin contained a commission to conclude a treaty of commerce with England, he proceeded with such haste, that he was only five days on the road from Plymouth to Paris. He travelled at his own expense.

The Maréchal de Castries and the Count de Vergennes received him cordially. By the former he was introduced to

* He means, that he preferred that the money should pass to individuals through the minister's hands. The resolution of Congress required that bonds should be given; and it appears, that Jones had no difficulty in obtaining sufficient security for so large an amount.

the king on the 20th December. The letters of the Chevalier de Luzerne to those ministers were in the same strain of commendation and personal expression of regard, (plainly, not merely diplomatic language,) as those he had borne from the commanders in the squadron at Porto Cabello. "They both assured him," he says, "that he had no need of letters, to dispose them to esteem his character and do him justice. After dinner, the Maréchal took Captain Jones aside, and told him, from the king, that it would always give his majesty pleasure to be useful to his future fortune." On the 17th of December, Dr. Franklin formally recognised his authority as agent to solicit for payment and satisfaction to the officers and crews, &c. in whose hands soever the prize money might be detained."

He set about this negociation with his whole soul, and succeeded, after two years, in obtaining a liquidation and payment of the demand. It would be tedious, were it necessary and were there room for it, to insert the correspondence, which relates to this matter, and it is imperfect. Jones claimed the proportion of prize money due to the *Bon Homme Richard* and Alliance, to be divided afterwards by the superintendent of finances in America, agreeably to the rules of her navy. That proportion, he assumed, was to be ascertained by multiplying the number of the crew by the sum of the calibre of the cannon, mounted on board of each ship. In writing to the Maréchal de Castries, M. de Sartine's successor, he repeated minutely the story of his projects and his doings; and renewed all his complaints against the conduct of M. de Chaumont. This was impolitic, and certainly did not expedite the settlement of the affair he had in charge. The following was, however, his creed on the subject, which is inserted without other comment, than that the captors should have taken legal advice: "Whether M. le Ray de Chaumont is indebted to the government, or the government is, as he says, indebted to him, is a matter that ought not to regard the captors, but they have a right to claim the protection of government to force M. le Ray de Chaumont to render the money with interest, which he has unjustly detained

from them for four years and a half, while many of them are perishing with cold and hunger."

An account was made out, pursuant to the minister's direction, by M. Chandon, on the papers submitted by M. de Chaumont. The *Concordat* had settled that "the division of prizes should be made agreeably to the American laws; but that the proportion of the whole, coming to each vessel in the squadron, should be regulated by the minister of the marine department of France and the minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America." It would seem that in this account the French laws were referred to, in adjusting such proportion. The law of Congress gave the captors the whole value of all ships and vessels of war belonging to the crown of Great Britain, and half the value of merchantmen, &c. Charges were made in the account, for repairs done at the Texel, and the expenses of the detention of the prizes there; and also of four deniers on the livre, on account of the Hospital of Invalids at Paris, from which institution American seamen had received no benefit. Dr. Franklin had not interfered in relation to the distribution of this prize money. He acted with his uniform wisdom, as there was no obligation upon him to express his opinions. Jones who was now, as to this matter, minister plenipotentiary himself, warmly and with no mean skill, as well as fervour, objected to this manner of adjusting the account, and to these deductions. The claim of the four deniers was readily relinquished by the minister. That for expenses in the Texel was made the subject of more argument, which was managed by Jones with much ingenuity, and as much passion. Franklin wrote to him that if he had been willing to act himself in the matter, he "certainly would not have agreed to charge the American captors with any part of the expense of maintaining the 500 prisoners in Holland, till they could be exchanged, when none of them were exchanged for the Americans in England, as was Jones' intention, and as they both had been made to expect." Enclosing a copy of this letter to the minister, Jones said: "I will not now complain that the prisoners which I took, and carried to Hol-

land were not exchanged for the Americans who had been taken in war upon the ocean, and were long confined in English dungeons by civil magistrates, as *traitors*, *pirates*, and *felons*; I will only say, *I had such a promise* from the minister of marine. It was all the reward I asked for the anxious days and sleepless nights I passed, and the many dangers I encountered, in glad hope of giving them *all* their liberty, and if I had not been assured that Mr. Franklin had made an infallible arrangement with the courts of France and England for their immediate redemption, nothing but a superior force should have wrested them out of my hands, till they had been actually exchanged for the unhappy Americans in England."

On the 13th of May the minister informed Jones that on the statement he had laid before his majesty, this item of deduction was also ordered to be relinquished; and that the indisposition of M. Chandon alone had prevented the amount to be allowed from being stated, which he would take the earliest measures for paying. Here was an immediate prospect of a summary attainment of the object of his mission. With characteristic rapidity, Jones replied: "I hope M. Chandon will immediately finish that liquidation; and, considering that nearly five years have already elapsed since the prizes were made, and that my long delay here is very inconvenient to my affairs, I flatter myself that you will take measures for the payment as soon as possible. On my arrival at Paris, I had the honour to present a letter from the Chevalier de la Luzerne, mentioning that part of my business in Europe is to collect materials for forming a system for the future marine of America. You had, my lord, the goodness to promise me copies of every thing respecting the government and manner of supplying the marine of France; and I should esteem it a great favour, if you would now give your orders in consequence."*

* On the 20th of January preceding, Colonel Wadsworth had addressed Jones under a copy of the following memorandum. "Colonel Hamilton requests Colonel

It was in September of the year 1784, that the plate taken from Lord Selkirk's house on St. Mary's Island was sent home. The letter of M. de Calonne, granting permission for its transportation from L'Orient to Calais free from all duties, &c. was highly complimentary. "This action, sir," said the minister, "is well worthy of the reputation your conduct has acquired for you; and proves that true valour is always in close union with humanity and generosity." The bill rendered to Jones for transporting this plate, by the "director of the diligences of Flanders, Picardy, and England," is among the papers before me. The amount was 127 livres, 17 sols.

On the 23d of October, it appears that a "statement of the liquidation and repartition of the prizes," was signed by the Maréchal de Castries, in which Jones urged that there was an error in the proportion assigned to the Vengeance. This was probably not rectified. And the money was not forthcoming immediately. In June, in the following year, we find Jones jogging the memory of the minister, as to his promise of taking prompt measures for payment. It was then intimated that security should be given for the due application of the fund. Jones referred to his credentials, and to the documents which showed that he had given ample security to the government of

Wadsworth as often as convenient to make inquiries, and take minutes of the circumstances relating to the navigation of different nations; the construction and quality of their ships, with respect to bulk, duration, and expedition; the expense of construction, materials, and equipment; the number of men with which they are navigated; the wages to the seamen, subsistence, &c. so as to form a general idea of the comparative advantages for navigation between this and other countries." Colonel Wadsworth said in his letter: "I have sent this to you, as the best able to make inquiries, and pray you to write him on the several articles of this request, as I know nobody in America so likely to make a good use of them. I do not despair of seeing an American navy; and my hopes will increase, when I see such men as Hamilton at the head of our naval affairs in America; which may possibly not be far distant. I will not apologize for giving you this trouble. You have so eminently distinguished yourself as a naval officer, and so warmly and unremittingly pursued the true interest of America, that I am certain I can commit these inquiries to no one, so able and so willing to make them:

the United States, and thus concluded his letter : " As particular reasons render it extremely inconvenient, if not impossible, for me to attend this business any longer, I shall take the liberty to wait on your excellency to-morrow, to be favoured with your final determination."

It is to be presumed that this difficulty was removed at once; but now another arose. Jones was desired by the minister to address himself to the ordinateur at L'Orient for payment of the money. He did not like this reference and anticipated difficulties in his settlement with this functionary. He asked for orders, that the money due the two ships, the *Bon Homme* and the *Alliance*, might be paid immediately into his hands *en masse*.

The expected difficulties with the ordinateur occurred. Mr. Jefferson had now succeeded the venerable Franklin as minister plenipotentiary at Versailles. On the 29th of July, in this year, (1785,) Jones says, in addressing him : " I find that a French merchant, M. Puchilberg, of this place, who opposed Dr. Franklin, and did all in his power to promote the revolt that took place in the *Alliance*, has produced a letter of attorney which he obtained from the officers and men of that frigate when their minds were unsettled, authorizing him to receive their share in the prizes. And notwithstanding the orders of the *Maréchal* of the 15th, I find there is a disposition here to pay the money to M. Puchilberg, in preference to me."

The interference of M. Puchilberg was as peculiarly offensive to Jones, as it was in his opinion unsafe, because he had given no security to the American government for the due disbursement of the money; had not any " authentic roll of the crew of the *Alliance*; and could not do justice to the subjects of America. Jones was willing that the proportion due the French marines, who embarked as volunteers, should be deducted from the amount to be paid to him. In another passage of his letter he says, that one of the objections made at L'Orient, to the payment to him of the whole amount was, that Landais was born in France. " But he had abjured the Church of Rome, and been

naturalized in America (as his officers reported to me) before he took command of the Alliance ; and his crew were all the subjects of the United States." The naturalization was implied in his bearing his commission. His abjuration is doubtful ; as he sleeps in ground consecrated according to the ritual of the Church of Rome. This by the way. Vexed and restless at this new obstacle, we find Jones two days afterwards repeating to Mr. Jefferson, the same argument against the propriety of M. Puchilberg's intervention. But he had other matters to speak of ; and this part of his letter must be introduced.

"The enclosed copy of a letter, which has just now been communicated to me, from Monsieur de Soulanges, à M. M. les Juges Consals, dated at Toulon, the 14th day of this month, announcing that the Algerines have declared war against the United States, is of too serious a nature not to be sent immediately to you.

"This event may, I believe, surprise some of our fellow-citizens ; but, for my part, I am rather surprised that it did not take place sooner. It will produce a good effect, if it unites the people of America in measures consistent with their national honour and interest, and rouses them from that ill-judged security which the intoxication of success has produced since the revolution.

"My best wishes will always attend that land of freedom, and my pride will be always gratified when such measures are adopted as will make us respected as a great people *who deserve to be free.*"

The prudent advice of Mr. Jefferson was in the same spirit with that which Franklin would have given. M. Puchilberg, (it is believed that he had no *de* to his name, though he may have been entitled to it,) was got rid of. Jones considered himself as a *quasi* ambassador in this matter. He certainly did not address the minister in the regulated phraseology of diplomacy ; and sometimes took the liberty of throwing his own words back into his teeth, which was not *genteel*. But, like the woman in the parable, he gained his point by importunity. It would re-

joice the souls of many claimants at the present day, of an infinitely greater amount from the same court, if the same result could be effected; and they would not feel their satisfaction diminished to a vast extent, if it were even obtained by a like departure from conventional language. Something more than 181,000 livres was paid to Jones eventually.* He charged no commission on the amount he received. He charged, however, 48,000 livres for his expenses. He was authorized by Congress to act as agent in the business, on the 1st November, 1783; he charges only from the time of his arrival in Europe, which was the 5th December, 1783, up to the 7th July, 1786.

The king remitted the proportion (one half) of the sale of the merchant prizes, to which, by the American laws, the government was entitled, in favour of the captors. The balance of 112,000 livres was paid over by Jones to Mr. Jefferson.

The statement of his expenses for these two years shows, that he must have lived handsomely. He renewed his former

* I find among the papers before me a draft from the board of treasury, dated May 9th, 1786, for 181,039 livres 1 sol and 10 deniers, in favour of Mr. Jefferson, expressed to be for "moneys received by you from the treasury of the marine of the port of L'Orient, on account of prize money due to the frigate Alliance, and the American officers and sailors employed under your command, conformably to your two receipts of the 18th August, and 5th September, 1785, transmitted to the department of foreign affairs, for which payment this shall be your sufficient voucher." On the back, is Mr. Jefferson's receipt, as follows: "Received from Commodore Paul Jones, one hundred and twelve thousand one hundred and seventy two livres, two sols, and four deniers, paid by him to Mr. Grand, as the balance of the sum mentioned in the annexed bill of the treasury, according to Commodore Jones' account, to be submitted to Congress. Paris, 12th July, 1786. Th. Jefferson." Jones' account was as follows: endorsed thus in Mr. Jefferson's handwriting: "Paris, in the kingdom of France, to wit: The within named John Paul Jones made oath before me on the holy evangelists, that his ordinary expenses, since his arrival in Europe, for the purpose of recovering the prize money, as within stated, have amounted to forty seven thousand nine hundred and seventy-two livres, eleven sous tournois. Given under my hand the fifth day of August, 1786. Th. Jefferson."

"Amount of prize money belonging to the American part of the crew of the Bon Homme Richard, (and to some few foreigners, whose names and qualities, &c. are

connexions and acquaintances, and kept himself in the public eye. He prepared a journal of his past services in the cause of America and her ally, which was read by several persons of distinction; and of which there appears to have been more than one copy circulated. Fragments of one version are found written in the first person. The entire narrative, up to the period of his visiting France on this occasion, which has been so frequently quoted from, is more classically drawn up in the third. Of that intended for his majesty, Malesherbs thus wrote to him.

inserted in the roll,) with the amount, also, of the prize money belonging to the crew of the Alliance; received at L'Orient, by order of the Maréchal de Castries, in bills on Paris.

Livres. S. D.

181,039 01 10

From which deduct, viz.

Nett amount of my ordinary expenses since I arrived in Europe to settle the prize money belonging to the citizens and subjects of America, who served on board the squadron I commanded, under the flag of the United States, at the expense of his most christian majesty, stated to his excellency Thomas Jefferson, Esq. the 4th of this month,

47,972 11 0

Paid the draft of M. le Jeune, for the amount of prize money due to Jacque Tual, pilot of the Alliance,

670 13 6

Amount of prize money paid M. de Blondel, lieutenant of marines of the Pallas, as stated on the roll of the Bon Homme Richard.

283 00 0

Advances made to sundry persons, which stand at my credit on the roll of the Bon Homme Richard,

264 09 6

Advances made by me to sundry persons belonging to the Bon Homme Richard: these advances do not stand at my credit on the roll settled at L'Orient, by M. le Jeune, because the commissary had neglected to send him the original roll from the bureau at Versailles, but the commissary has rectified that omission, by his certificates, dated September 5th, 1785, and February 22d, 1786.

6,385 00 0

My share, by the roll, as captain of the Bon Homme Richard,

13,291 5 6

68,866 19 6

Paris, July 7, 1786.

112,172 2 4

PAUL JONES."

"I have received with much gratitude the mark of confidence which you have given me, and I have read with great eagerness and pleasure that interesting relation.

"My first impression was to desire you to have it published, but after having read it, I perceive that you had not written it with a view to publication, because there are things in it which are written to the king, for whom alone that work was intended. However, actions memorable as yours are, ought to be made known to the world by an authentic journal published in your own name.

"I earnestly entreat you to work at it as soon as your affairs will allow you; and in the mean time, I hope that the king will read this work with that attention which he owes to the relation of the services, which have been rendered to him by a person so celebrated."

At this time he also rendered a material service to the myste-

On transmitting his statement of the account to Mr. Jefferson, Jones wrote as follows:

"I have the honour to enclose and submit to your consideration, the account I have stated of the prize money in my hands, with sundry papers that regard the charges. I cannot bring myself to lessen the dividend of the American captors by making any charge either for my time or trouble. I lament that it has not yet been in my power to procure for them advantages as solid and as extensive as the merit of their services. I would not have undertaken this business from any views of private emolument that could have possibly resulted from it to myself, even supposing I had recovered or should recover a sum more considerable than the penalty of my bond. But I was anxious to force some ill natured persons to acknowledge that, if they did not tell a wilful falsehood, they were mistaken when they asserted that I had commanded a squadron of privateers. And, the war being over, I made it my first care to show the brave instruments of my success that their rights are as dear to me as my own. It will, I believe, be proper for me to make oath before you to the amount charged for my ordinary expenses. I flatter myself that you will find no objection to the account as I have stated it, and that you are of opinion that, after this settlement has been made between us, my bond ought to stand cancelled as far as regards my transactions with the court of France. Should any part of the prize money remain in the treasury, without being claimed, after sufficient time shall be elapsed, I beg leave to submit to you, to the treasury, and to Congress, whether I have not merited by my conduct since I returned to Europe that such remainder should be disposed of in my favour?"

rious Madame T——, by obtaining for her, through a lady of rank, an introduction to the king, who received her with great kindness and said he charged himself with her fortune. He had his bust taken by Houdon, "to whose talents it was remarked by professed judges it did no discredit." One of these he sent to Mr. Jefferson, and two to Philadelphia, which he intended to present in person on his return. Writing to Mr. Morris in 1787, he says: "as the moment of my return to America continues uncertain, I beg you will now accept the bust as a mark of my affection. Mr. Nesbitt writes me that a duty was demanded on my busts. This, I own, surprises me. They are not merchandise; and I flatter myself that my zeal and exertions for the cause of America will not be requited with such a mark of dishonour. I would rather hear that the busts were broke to pieces, than consent that they should be subject to a duty." At this time he also projected a commercial speculation in connection with the celebrated John Ledyard. The acquaintance between Jones and Ledyard commenced in 1785, as must be inferred from the letters of Jones. The project was spoken of in the London papers in that year. The following is an extract from the London Chronicle of August 20th, 1785: "A letter from L'Orient says: Paul Jones has arrived here from Paris to fit out three ships on his own account, of which it is said he will take the command on an expedition to Kamschatka, to purchase furs and establish a factory. This he is enabled to do by having lately received 400,000 livres for the prizes he took in the war." Such is newspaper exaggeration. The "propositions for a commercial enterprise" are before me in French. The year in which they were drawn up does not appear in the instrument. "A vessel of 250 tons was to be armed and equipped, with forty-five officers and men, who were to be French. She was to sail on the 1st October, for Cape Horn, thence to the Sandwich Islands to take in provisions, and thence continue her route towards the north-west coast, where she would arrive in April. She was to remain there, if business required it, until September or October, and then make sail for Japan, where

the peltry was to be exchanged for gold or other commodities, if the market proved better than that of China, which was thought probable. If not, she was to proceed to Macao; where experience had proved that, at the most moderate calculation, the furs would bring ten livres a-piece, the amount of which was to be taken in gold or the merchandise of China; after which she was to return to France, by the ordinary route round the Cape of Good Hope, and would arrive after a voyage of about eighteen months. As supercargo, a citizen of the U. States (Ledyard) was proposed, who had been an officer of Captain Cook in his last voyage round the world, and had come to France expressly to propose this enterprise, and demanded no appointments or other compensation than a reasonable commission on the profits of the voyage." The propositions proceeded to set forth, that the novelty of the projected voyage was the only disadvantageous circumstance anticipated in relation to it, while its advantages were easily foreseen; that the risks, compared to the profits, were, at the most moderate estimate, but as one to ten, which was far less than attended all voyages either to the East or West Indies; that the expenses of the armament and cargo were very inconsiderable; that the quality, variety, and quantity of the skins on the north-west coast exceeded all known of the kind in any other part of the world; that such precious furs might be bought for a bagatelle, and sold at a market where the venders might fix their own price; that the distance between the places of purchase and sale was so inconsequential, that the peltry could not be injured by the transportation; that there was no necessity of delaying in any port before arriving in China, which would save great expenses and other inconveniences; that they would touch at a port where the supercargo could procure provisions at the lowest price, viz. pork, salt, fish, poultry, vegetables, &c. for twelve months or more. Of the commercial knowledge which would be acquired by those who should undertake the expedition, of the opportunity it would afford to make a most precious collection of natural and artificial curiosities, of the honour and plea-

sure which would result from it, the projector spoke only as accidental circumstances. He added that it would be better if the enterprise were undertaken by a single house, or two at most, the expense attending the equipment being so unimportant; and that those who should advance the funds need not be interrupted in their business, as the supercargo would take upon himself the charge of making all the necessary arrangements, with the greatest despatch. He observed, that there was scarce any branch of commerce as important for France as that in furs, especially by a channel which might be so considerably augmented, possessing the great advantage of a certain market in China and always obtaining advantageous returns from thence. The speculators might also at all hazard give a credit by bills of exchange or otherwise, to be used in China if necessary, which would give the same advantages to the expedition as an ordinary voyage to the East Indies, which any ship under the American flag might undertake. The supercargo could provide all the charts necessary for the voyage, except those from the Straits of Magellan to the south by Cape Horn; but they could easily be procured. The following estimate was added of the expenses and profits of the expedition.

EXPENSES.		RETURNS.	
Cost of a vessel of 250 tons,	£1,250	A cargo of 3,000 skins bought	
Complete equipment,	1,250	on the N. W. Coast, worth	
Provisions for a year,	500	10 Louis a-piece in China, . . .	£30,000
Cargo,	500	As a moderate profit on the	
Wages advanced to the crew, . . .	250	merchandise bought in	
	3,750	China,	10,000
Profit of the voyage,	36,250		Sterling £40,000
	Sterling £40,000		

A most interesting account is given in the *Life of Ledyard*, of his efforts both in America and France, to obtain a ship for carrying this project into execution.* Ledyard says, that Mr.

Morris "took a noble hold, instantly, of the enterprise." It fell through, however, in America as it did in France, where Mr. Jefferson's sagacious mind readily comprehended the importance of discovery and settlement in regions which might eventually fall within the boundaries of the Union. It appears from Ledyard's papers, that the plan arranged between Jones and himself was, to fit out two ships and obtain, if possible, commissions for them from the king. Jones was to use his court influence to persuade the government to assist, and furnish vessels and armament. If this should fail, he was to furnish funds himself, according to his means; and they were to act on their own responsibility. They meant to commence a factory on the north-west coast, and build a stoccade, in which Ledyard was to remain with a small force. Jones was to proceed to China with one of the vessels, the other was to be left to collect a second cargo. He was afterwards to go with both to China, exchange the furs for silks and teas; and, having disposed of his cargoes, return round Cape Horn again with articles suitable for traffic with the Indians, whose good acquaintance Ledyard was to be left to cultivate. The latter expected to be absent for perhaps six or seven years. The delay Jones experienced in obtaining the prize money, no doubt contributed to the falling through of the scheme; about which the latter in his general correspondence writes with his usual mystery.

Those who have realized princely fortunes by this commerce will be able to criticise the merits of Ledyard's plan, and the accuracy of his estimates. The "disadvantage of novelty," or want of the enlightened spirit of enterprise, caused the merchants to whom he suggested it, to let this golden opportunity escape. Jones had the shrewdness to perceive the tempting hopes which it held forth. In several respects he and Ledyard were congenial spirits. He had written to Dr. Bancroft on the business, as appears from a letter to him from that gentleman, dated September 9th, 1785. The writer says: "I endeavoured as early as possible to gain information respecting the object of your inquiry, but it was a difficult matter, none of my acquaint-

ances knowing any thing more of it than what had appeared in the public papers. Yesterday, however, I was informed by a gentleman who, I believe, has some more knowledge of the fact, that the two vessels, King George and Queen Charlotte, have actually sailed on the expedition which was thought of by Mr. Ledyard, for furs, which, I should suppose must interfere with and very much lessen the profits of any similar undertaking by others. Mr. Williams went from hence to America with Dr. Franklin, before my return, and I do not know what he did respecting your sword, &c." At this time, as appears by a letter of the same date from the house of S. & I. S. Delap, Jones was in treaty for the purchase of a vessel for this expedition. The price of one vessel mentioned to Jones by them was 80,000 livres, trebling in amount the calculation of Ledyard. He had also written to America, asking the advice of Mr. Morris on the subject, and postponed making a purchase until he should receive an answer from him, which was not until the first of December; "an unfortunate circumstance," as he wrote to Mr. Nesbitt, "for at the same time with the letter from Mr. Morris, I received one from Bordeaux, informing me that the ship in question, (the finest that had been seen in that port,) was rather given away than sold. I wrote to Madrid, and by the information I have from thence, it appears that Spain is too jealous to permit any commercial speculation in the neighbourhood of California.* I shall write again to Bordeaux, to inform myself whether the ship in question may not yet be obtained for a reasonable advance. If I make that or any other suitable purchase, it will be with a view to accept of the offer of Mr. Morris, and a reliance on his kind disposition towards me. * * * * I should be sorry, very sorry, if my frankness to Mr. Ross has lost me his friendship; but the step is taken, and I do not feel that it is my place to ask pardon."

* On this hint, the author of the *Life* published in Edinburgh ascribes the abandonment of Ledyard's projected scheme, to a dread of Spanish interference.

About this time I find a billet from *Compte d'Estaing* which may be thought curious. It is as follows :

“ *Le Cte d'Estaing* est engagé depuis plusieurs jours chez *M^r. D'Orey* ; et il a renouvelé hyer sa promesse de manière, a ne pouvoir y manquer. Il remercie *Monsieur Paul Jones*, et ses regrets augmentent d'autant plus, qu'il a un presentiment que *M^r. de St. James*, qu'il fait gloire d'aimer de tout son cœur y viendra peut-etre, en fort aimable compagnie. *Y^e count* is very well acquainted with *y^e amiability* and the holy name of the lady, but not yet with his charming person ; and he is very curious of it.

“ *A Lundy.*”

Jones was as much mystified as we are by the allusion made in the count's attempted English. In his reply, he says that he at first made a wrong application of it ; but *M^r. de St. James* undeceived him, without, however, explaining its meaning. He was full of the same mercantile schemes referred to, in the quotation from his letter to *Mr. Nesbitt*. To the Count d'Estaing, he says : “ I did myself the honour to call at your hotel yesterday, to inform you that by the inquiry I have made respecting the contract of *Mr. Morris* for furnishing France with 60,000 hogsheads of tobacco, I find it is to be delivered in France at 36 livres per hundred weight ; and that so great a monopoly will enable him to purchase it at the warehouses in Virginia, at the low price of 22 livres 10 sous. So that he will have 13 livres 10 sous on every hundred weight for shipping charges, freight, and profit.

“ I have spoken to *Mr. Jefferson* respecting the obliging propositions you made on my subject to the *Marquis de la Fayette*. I am happy to find that *Mr. Jefferson* thinks well of the place, and says, that if this government will apply to Congress, there is no doubt of obtaining their consent. By the alliance between France and America, it is stipulated that when France shall find herself engaged in a war with Great Britain, in which

America takes no active part, the ports of the United States shall be open for the ships of war of France ; where they may refit and sell their prizes. But the British are excluded from those great advantages. The growing commerce of America and her extended fisheries are perpetual and increasing nurseries for seamen. And avarice will always furnish, in the free ports of America, as many foreign seamen as may be wanted. The great benefit that France may derive from these favourable circumstances, cannot escape a mind so extended and well cultivated as yours. And you are too good a citizen to be indifferent on any point when you can render service to your country, or oblige a man who glories in being honoured with your attachment. The extract of my Journals will, I expect, be presented on Monday."

Mr. Jefferson had written to Jones, while the latter was at L'Orient, for information relative to the voyage of discovery about to be made by La Pérouse. The following was his communication in reply :

" The following is the best information I am able to give you, in compliance with the letter, dated at Paris the 3d of August, 1785, which you did me the honour to address me at L'Orient.

" The Boussole and the Astrolabe, two gabarts of 600 tons each, sheathed with copper and equipped in the best manner, sailed from Brest the 1st of August, 1785, under the command of M. de la Pérouse and the Viscount de Langle, captains in the royal navy. They had on board a great variety of trees, plants, and seeds, that suit the climate of France ; manufactures in linen, woollen, and cotton, and in iron and copper, &c. &c. mechanical tools of all sorts ; a great quantity of trinkets and toys ; ploughs, and all sorts of utensils and implements for agriculture, and a quantity of unwrought iron. Each ship had on board a large shallop in frames, and a million of French livres in the coins of different nations. Each ship had also on board twenty-one soldiers, draughted from the two regiments at Brest, all of whom were either mechanics or farmers. They had on board no women ; nor any animals, except such as appeared to be

destined for the refreshment of the crews. The crew of each ship is one hundred men, including officers and men of genius. The king himself planned the expedition, and made out all the details with his own hand, before he spoke a word of it to any person. His majesty defrays the expense of it out of his private coffer, and is his own minister in every thing that regards the operation of his plan. There is no doubt but that the perfecting of the geography of the southern hemisphere is one of his majesty's objects in view ; and it is not difficult to perceive, that he has others equally worthy the attention of a great prince ; one of which may be, to extend the commerce of his subjects by establishing factories, at a future day, for the fur trade, on the north-west coast of America ; and another, to establish colonies in New Holland, after having well explored the coast, and made experiments on the soil of that vast island, which is situated in so happy a climate, and so contiguous to the establishments of France in the East Indies."

The fate of the three prizes sent to Bergen, in Norway, has been mentioned.* They were valued by M. Dechezaulx the French consul there, at fifty thousand pounds sterling ;† five-fold the amount recovered for the prizes sent into France. The power of soliciting payment for this money was given to Jones by the general resolution of Congress, on the 1st November, 1783, and the authorization of Franklin in virtue thereof, on the 17th December following. Neither did he ever lose sight of this object, to which he now began to turn his attention particularly. In the letter addressed by Dr. Franklin to Count Bernstorff, prime minister of Denmark, in December, 1779, reclaiming these prizes or their value, the American statesman urged every consideration of policy and equity to induce a repeal of the order giving them up to the English. Bernstorff's reply, written in March following, was a good sample of diplomatic flourish, evasion, and shuffling, vulgarly called in America, " whipping the

* Page 245.

† Including the Charming Polly.

devil round the stump." He referred "for further particulars" to the Baron de Blome, Danish minister at Paris, who of course had nothing but compliments and condolences to offer; and there the matter rested, until the independence of the United States was recognised by Denmark, and the advantage of making a treaty of amity and commerce between the two nations, became apparent to the Danish ministry. Count Rosenkrone, the minister for foreign affairs, wrote in 1783, to M. de Waltersdorf, Danish minister at London, recommending to him, as he learned that he was about making a tour in France, to endeavour as much as possible to gain the confidence and esteem of Franklin, with a view to obtaining a treaty between the two nations, founded on a basis similar to that which had been made between the United States and the States General. The latter was intended for exhibition to Franklin, and of course proffered great readiness to meet with frankness any overtures that might be made. On this communication being made to him, Franklin proceeded to address Count Rosenkrone, intimating that a commission would probably soon be sent from the United States, appointing some person in Europe to enter into a treaty with his Danish majesty, on the basis suggested. "To smooth the way for obtaining this desirable end," he added, that it became necessary for him to call the minister's attention to the affairs of the three prizes whose violent seizure he was "inclined to think a hasty act, procured by the importunities and misrepresentations of the British minister." Some time after, having written to the court, Waltersdorf informed Franklin that he was authorized to offer a compensation of 10,000 pounds, which was declined, "because it was thought the value of the prizes was the true measure of compensation, and that that ought to be inquired into."

In 1785, when Mr. Jefferson had succeeded the sage of Passy, Jones wrote to Mr. Adams as minister at London, on the subject. It seems that before the receipt of the letter, the Count de Waltersdorf had gone to the West Indies. Jones then proposed assigning his powers as agent, with Mr. Jefferson's assent,

to his friend Dr. Bancroft, as he wished to make the application to the court of Denmark without further loss of time. The following letter from Mr. Adams, is dated July 17th, 1786.

“I have received the letter you did me the honour to write me on the 10th of this month, and embrace the opportunity by Colonel Trumbull to answer it. The Count de Reventlan, complaisantly enough, enclosed my letter to the Baron de Waltersdorf, in his despatch to the Danish ministry, and informed him that it related to a public affair. So that there is no room to doubt that the letter went safe, and that that court are acquainted with its contents. But no answer has been received. I am told that the Baron de Waltersdorf has been at Paris and at the Hague, long since the date of my letter to him ; and I was told he was coming to London where I should see him. But he has not yet been here. As there is a Danish minister now in Paris, I should advise you to apply to him ; for the foreign ministers in general, at the court of Versailles, have less weight upon their spirits in all things relating to America, than those at London. Cash, I fancy, is not an abundant article in Denmark, and your claim has probably delayed and suspended all negotiations with Mr. Jefferson and me, respecting a commercial treaty, for which, three years ago, there was no little zeal. This, however, is only conjecture, in confidence.”

Jones thought, however, that as the plan of applying through the ambassadors had proved slow and uncertain, and as Congress had in June previous ordered the prize money paid over by him to be distributed by the board of treasury, which made his immediate return to America unnecessary, it would be better for him to proceed in person to Copenhagen, of which Mr. Jefferson approved. Jones asked and obtained a letter from the Count de Vergennes to the Baron de la Houze, French minister in Denmark, and armed himself with other credentials. On the 18th of August, Mr. Jefferson wrote to Baron de Blome, who was at the waters, informing him of the object of the chevalier's mission, requesting him to advise his court thereof, and asking his good offices with the ministers.

He did not go to Copenhagen, but paid a flying visit to America, the cause of which will appear from the annexed letter to Mr. Jay, minister of foreign affairs, written shortly after his arrival at New York. Mr. Jefferson had not full powers to allow the charge made by him for his expenses, while soliciting payment of the prize money; which may have had some partial influence in inducing this deviation from his immediate purpose. "I left Paris in the spring, and went as far as Brussels on my way to Copenhagen, when an unforeseen circumstance in my private affairs rendered it indispensable for me to turn about and cross the ocean. My private business here being already finished, I shall in a few days re-embark for Europe, in order to proceed to the court of Denmark. It is my intention to go by the way of Paris, in order to obtain a letter to the French minister at Copenhagen, from the Count de Montmorin, as the one I obtained is from the Count de Vergennes. It would be highly flattering to me if I could carry a letter with me from Congress to his most christian majesty, thanking him for the squadron he did us the honour to support under our flag. And on this occasion, sir, permit me, with becoming diffidence, to recall the attention of my sovereign to the letter of recommendation I brought with me from the court of France, dated 30th May, 1780. It would be pleasing to me if that letter should be found to merit a place on the journals of Congress. Permit me also to entreat that Congress will be pleased to read the letter I received from the minister of marine, when his majesty deigned to bestow on me a golden-hilted sword, emblematical of the happy alliance; an honour which his majesty never conferred on any other foreign officer. I owed the high favour I enjoyed at the court of France in a great degree to the favourable testimony of my conduct which had been communicated by his majesty's ambassador, under whose eye I acted in the most critical situation in the Texel, as well as to the public opinion of Europe. And the letter with which I was honoured by the prime minister of France, when I was about to return to America, is a clear proof that we might have

drawn still greater advantages from the generous disposition of our ally, if our marine had not been lost whilst I was, under perplexing circumstances, detained in Europe, after I had given the Count de Maurepas my plan for forming a combined squadron of ten or twelve sail of frigates, supported by the America with a detachment of French troops on board ; the whole at the expense of his majesty.

“ It is certain that I am much flattered by receiving a gold sword from the most illustrious monarch now living ; but I had refused to accept his commission on two occasions before that time, when some firmness was necessary to resist the temptation. He was not my sovereign ; I served the cause of freedom ; and honours from my sovereign would be more pleasing. Since the year 1775, when I displayed the American flag for the first time with my own hands, I have been constantly devoted to the interests of America. Foreigners have, perhaps, given me too much credit, and this may have raised my ideas of my services above their real value ; but my zeal can never be over-rated.

“ I should act inconsistently if I omitted to mention the dreadful situation of our unhappy fellow-citizens in slavery at Algiers. Their almost hopeless fate is a deep reflection on our national character in Europe. I beg leave to influence the humanity of Congress in their behalf, and to propose that some expedient may be adopted for their redemption. A fund might be raised for that purpose, by a duty of a shilling per month from seamen’s wages, throughout the continent, and I am persuaded that no difficulty would be made to that requisition.”

The reasons of Jones for returning thus suddenly to America, are further explained in his letters to Mr. Jefferson and Dr. Bancroft in September of this year. He had expected to receive at Brussels the necessary funds for his journey to, and business at Copenhagen ; but was altogether disappointed. He also met with difficulty and loss in disposing of part of his bank stock while in America.

A letter of June 23d, from Madame T——, informed him of the sudden death of her friend and protectress the Marquise

de Marsan, who had introduced her to the king. He says, writing to Dr. Bancroft: "this is also a great grief and loss to me, as I had in that lady a valuable friend." To Mr. Jefferson he said: "the letter you sent me, left the feeling author all in tears! Her friend—her protectress—her introductress to the king, was suddenly dead! She was in despair! She lost more than a mother! A loss, indeed, that nothing can repair; for fortune and favour are never to be compared to tried friendship. I hope, however, she has gone to visit the king in July, agreeably to his appointment given her in the month of March. I am persuaded that he would receive her with additional kindness, and that her loss would, in his mind, be a new claim to his protection; especially as he well knows and has acknowledged her superior merit and just pretensions. As I feel the greatest concern for the situation of this worthy lady, you will render me a great favour by writing a note, requesting her to call on you, as you have something to communicate from me. When she comes, be so good as to deliver her the within letter, and show her this; that she may see both my confidence in you and my advice to her."

His letter to the lady was as follows:

"New York, September 4, 1787.

"No language can convey to my fair mourner the tender sorrow I feel on her account! The loss of our worthy friend is indeed a fatal stroke! It is an irreparable misfortune which can only be alleviated by this one reflection, that it is the will of God, whose providence has, I hope, other blessings in store for us. She was a tried friend, and more than a mother to you! She would have been a mother to me also had she lived. We have lost her! Let us cherish her memory, and send up grateful thanks to the Almighty that we once had such a friend. I cannot but flatter myself that you have yourself gone to the king in July as he had appointed. I am sure your loss will be a new inducement for him to protect you, and render you justice. He will hear you, I am sure; and you may safely un-

bosom yourself to him, and ask his advice, which cannot but be flattering to him to give you. Tell him you must look on him as your father and protector. If it were necessary, I think, too, that the Count d'A——,* his brother, would, on your personal application, render you good offices by speaking in your favour. I should like it better, however, if you can do without him. Mr. Jefferson will show you my letter of this date to him. You will see by it how disgracefully I have been detained here by the board of treasury. It is impossible for me to stir from this place till I obtain their settlement on the business I have already performed; and as the season is already far advanced, I expect to be ordered to embark directly for the place of my destination in the north. Mr. Jefferson will forward me your letters. I am almost without money, and much puzzled to obtain a supply. I have written to Dr. Bancroft to endeavour to assist me. I mention this with infinite regret, and for no other reason than because it is impossible for me to transmit you a supply under my present circumstances. This is my fifth letter to you since I left Paris. The two last were from France, and I sent them by duplicates. But you say nothing of having received any letters from me! Summon, my dear friend, all your resolution! Exert yourself, and plead your own cause. You cannot fail of success; your cause would move a heart of flint! Present my best respects to your sister. You did not mention her in your letter; but I persuade myself she will continue her tender care of her sweet godson, and that you will cover him all over with kisses from me; they come warm to *you both* from the heart!"

He says, in his letter to Mr. Jefferson: "I should have returned by the July packet, but was unexpectedly detained by the treasury; and notwithstanding my continual pressing application since that time, the board has not yet reported to Con-

* Count d'Artois, now Charles X.

gress on my business done with the court of France. There is no Congress at this moment ; but as the grand convention is expected to rise about the 20th, there is little doubt but that Congress will be full soon afterwards. The board, I understand, is now ready to report. I expect to obtain from Congress a letter of thanks to the king, for the force he put under my command, and supported under the flag of the United States ; and my promotion has been talked of, to date from the day I took the Serapis."

The report of the board of treasury was not satisfactory to him. He made, among others, the following comments upon it. " The settlement that I made with the court of France had first Dr. Franklin's, and afterwards Mr. Jefferson's approbation, in every stage and article of the business ; and I presume it will be found, at least so far as depended on me, to merit that of the United States. The board of treasury have been pleased in their report to treat me as a mere agent, though employed in that delicate national concern. In France I was received and treated by the king and his ministers as a general officer and a special minister from Congress. The credit with which I am honoured as an officer, in the opinion of Europe, and the personal intimacy I have with many great characters at Paris, with my exclusive knowledge of all circumstances relative to the business, insured me a success which no other man could have obtained. My situation subjected me to considerable expense. I went to court much oftener, and mixed with the great much more frequently, than our minister plenipotentiary, yet the gentlemen in that situation consider their salary of two thousand sterling a year as scarcely adequate to their expenses."

Speaking of Landais, he says : " The board seems very zealous for the interests of that broken and disgraced officer. I shall say nothing in opposition to his interests ; but I am possessed of ample testimony, that if he had been tried on my accusation, (instead of being broke and disgraced for bringing away the Alliance from France, after his being suspended by Dr. Franklin,) the judgment of the court martial would have

been of a more grave and serious nature ; a glaring proof, among many others, that we had no system for the government of our navy, and that we need not at this date be so tenacious of its vaunted ordinances ; especially in a delicate case between two nations, where they cannot in all respects be applied to the letter." The letter from which the foregoing extracts are made, was addressed to the chairman of a committee on the report of the board of treasury. It is a bold and able vindication of his conduct and claims ; but is too long for insertion. He says in the course of it, " The proposition of the board of treasury, that I should give new securities for the business I am to transact in Denmark, cannot be complied with. The securities I gave with my own, are men of property, and their known honour and honesty set their characters above any attack. They have both of them been able and faithful servants of the American cause."

Congress was disposed to act with more liberality than the board, and all Jones wished for was more than accomplished. His letter to Mr. Jay was in part referred back to that gentleman for his report. On this occasion he took the opportunity of again urging the hints he had suggested in the conclusion. " I beg leave," he said, " to observe on the latter part of that letter, respecting the fund I wish to see established for the redemption of our fellow-citizens at Algiers, that I had also in view, at the time, a national establishment, on the plan of the Greenwich Hospital in England, or Hotel des Invalids at Paris, which would be effected from the residue of the increasing fund I have proposed. I beg you, therefore, sir, to take notice of this in your report."

On the report made by a committee, Congress passed resolutions on the 11th October, confirming the quotas assigned to the several ships which had been under his command, and directing a distribution to be made agreeably thereto,* and on the 16th, that body passed the following resolution.

* Mr. Carrington moved on this day a resolution to the effect that, though the terms upon which Jones originally undertook the negociation, were for the usual commis-

‘ Resolved unanimously, That a medal of gold be struck, and presented to the Chevalier John Paul Jones, in commemoration of the valour and brilliant services of that officer, in the command of a squadron of American and French ships under the flag and commission of the United States, off the coast of Great Britain, in the late war ; and that the Honourable Mr. Jefferson, minister plenipotentiary of the United States at the court of Versailles, have the same executed, with the proper devices.’

It was also resolved, that a letter should be written to the king of France, which was drawn up by Mr. Jay, and was as follow

“ To His Most Christian Majesty, Louis, King of France and Navarre.

“ GREAT AND BELOVED FRIEND !

“ We, the United States in Congress assembled, in consideration of the distinguished marks of approbation with which your majesty has been pleased to honour the Chevalier John Paul Jones as well as from a sense of his merit, have unanimously directed a medal of gold to be struck and presented to him, in commemoration of his valour and brilliant services while commanding a squadron of French and American ships, under our flag and commission, off the coast of Great Britain, in the late war.

“ As it is his earnest desire to acquire knowledge in his profession, we cannot forbear requesting of your majesty to permit

sions, yet as the business was found to stand upon materially different ground from that contemplated at the time of the appointment, it was just and reasonable that the full value of the services and expenses necessarily incurred should be deducted from the property recovered ; and that he should be authorized to retain the 47,972 livres in his hands. Mr. H. Lee moved to postpone the consideration of this motion, and offered another, viz : that the excess of money expended over the amount of commission should be paid out of the federal treasury. On the question of postponement, the ayes were only four. On the question to agree to Mr. Carrington's motion, the delegates of eight States voted for it, two against it, and those of Virginia were divided. New Hampshire and Maryland had each only a single delegate present. So the question was lost

him to embark in your fleets of evolution, where only it will be probably in his power to acquire that degree of knowledge which may hereafter render him most extensively useful.

“Permit us to repeat to your majesty, our sincere assurances, that the various and important benefits for which we are indebted to your friendship will never cease to interest us in whatever may concern the happiness of your majesty, your family, and people. We pray God to keep you, our great and beloved friend, under his holy protection.

“Done at the city of New York, the 16th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1787, and of our sovereignty and independence the 12th.”

On the 24th of October, we find the following letter to Madame T——, the last that appears among his papers ; nor is there any further record of his intercourse with that lady.

“The last French packet brought no letter to me from the person whose happiness is dearer to me than any thing else. I have been on the rack of fear and apprehension, and am totally unable to account for that silence ! My business is done here, and the moment of my return to Europe approaches. My sentiments are unchanged, and my impatience can better be imagined than expressed. I have been honoured here beyond my own expectations. But your silence makes even honours insipid. I am, however, far from blaming you ; want of health, or some other misfortune must have interposed. If this reaches you, remember me affectionately to your sister and her godson. May Heaven avert all trouble from you.”

On the 25th, Congress passed resolutions, authorizing and instructing the minister at Versailles to make proper representations to his Danish majesty on the subject of the claim against him, to settle the demand, and to despatch the Chevalier Paul Jones, or such other agent as he might appoint, with powers to carry on the negotiation, subject to his eventual approbation. Five per cent. commissions was to be allowed, for all expenses and demands whatever.

The following is an extract from a letter of Jones to Mr. Jefferson, dated the 24th.

"I should have embarked in the packet that will sail for Havre to-morrow morning ; but an account having arrived here that the English fleet is out, and was seen steering to the westward, and that a British squadron is cruising in the North Sea, has induced me, with the advice of my friends, to postpone my embarkation till the next opportunity, an American ship, about the beginning of next month."

More than once he intimates apprehensions, that he was not safe from English resentment. They are treated in the Edinburgh Biography with levity. There is some mystery in his being desirous not to attract public attention at the commencement of this mission, which cannot be cleared up ; though it may be conjectured that he was uncertain as to what course he should pursue, or what service he might engage in. It is barely possible that he may have had some views to the brilliant prospect which in fact opened upon him, on his arrival in Europe, and which held out a far more glorious promise than being permitted to embark for improvement in the French fleets of evolution. However this may be, he sailed from New York on the 11th December, landed at Dover on account of unfavourable weather, and after spending a few days in London,* where he conferred with Adams on the objects of his mission, he repaired forthwith to Paris. The following was his first communication, to Mr. Jefferson.

[PRIVATE.]

" Hotel de Beauvais, rue de vieux Augustines.

Paris, December 12, 1787.

" His Excellency THOMAS JEFFERSON,

" SIR—I am just arrived here from England. I left New York the 11th of November, and have brought public despatches

* He went, he says, to Covent Garden Theatre ; which does not indicate that he was afraid of popular resentment.

and a number of private letters for you. I would have waited on you immediately, instead of writing, but I have several *strong reasons* for desiring that no person should know of my being here till I have seen you, and been favoured with your advice on the steps I ought to pursue. I have a letter from Congress for the king, and perhaps you will think it advisable not to present it at this moment. I shall not go out till I hear from, or see you. And, as the people in this hotel do not know my name, you will please to ask for the gentleman just arrived, who is lodged in No. 1."

At the interview thus solicited, Mr. Jefferson made a communication to him, which, though he says in his Journal he at first treated it as chimerical, must, unanticipated as it probably was, have awakened ambitious hopes and dreams of glory too powerful and vivid not to be entertained and deeply meditated upon. He informed him, that in several conversations he had held with M. Simolin, the Russian ambassador at Versailles, the latter had intimated his opinion that it would be of great importance to the empress, if she could engage the services of the chevalier in the war she was carrying on against the Turks. He was not authorized to make any specific proposition; but the hint was certainly not unattended to by the commodore.

On the 24th December, he submitted to Mr. Jefferson's perusal his documents in relation to the claim on Denmark. He says, in conclusion: "I have explained to the board of treasury the mistake that was made, in calling the ships in question 'prizes of the Alliance;' and left them perfectly convinced that the prizes belong to the squadron in general.* Now, as his most christian majesty was at the whole expense of supporting the squadron I commanded, including the expense of the Alliance, I submit to you what kind of support would be most pro-

* As these prizes had been commissioned to war upon American vessels, &c. they belonged wholly to the captors.

per for this court to afford to my reclamation at the court of Denmark? It is the duty of this government to interest itself in behalf of the French subjects who were embarked under my orders. In doing this, would it be most proper to authorize me to act for them in common with the Americans; or to direct the Baron de la Houze to support my application?"

On the 24th of January following, he received his credentials from Mr. Jefferson, according to the tenor of the Act of Congress, and soon after set out for Copenhagen. The following letter to Mr. Jefferson explains the circumstances of his arrival and reception. It is dated March 11th.

"I have been so much indisposed since my arrival here the 4th, from the fatigue and excessive cold I suffered on the road, that I have been obliged to confine myself almost constantly to my chamber. I have kept my bed for several days; but I now feel myself better, and hope the danger is over. On my arrival, I paid my respects to the minister of France. He received me with great kindness; we went, five days ago, to the minister of foreign affairs. I was much flattered with my reception, and our conversation was long and very particular respecting America and the new constitution, of which I presented a copy. He observed, that it had struck him as a very dangerous power to make the president commander-in-chief; in other respects it appeared to please him much, as leading to a near and sure treaty of commerce between America and Denmark. It was a day of public business, and I could not do more than present your letter. I shall follow the business closely. In a few days, when I am re-established in health, I am to be presented to the whole court, and to sup with the king. I shall after that be presented to all the corps diplomatique and other persons of distinction here. I am infinitely indebted to the attentions I receive from the minister of France. I made the inquiry you desired in Holland, and should then have written to you in consequence, had I not been assured, by authority, (M. Van Stophorst,) that I could not doubt that letters had been sent you on

the subject, that could not fail of giving you satisfaction. M. Van Stophorst was very obliging. At Hamburgh, I ordered the smoked beef you desired to be sent to you, to the care of the American agent at Havre de Grace; you have nothing to do but receive it, paying what little charges may be on it. My ill health and fatigué on the road hindered me from preparing the extract of the engagement. When you see M. Littlepage,* I pray you to present my kind compliments. It is said here that the empress confides the commerce of her fleet, that will pass the Sound, to Admiral Greig; and that he means to call at an English port to take provisions, &c. The Hamburgh papers, I am told, have announced the death of Dr. Franklin. I shall be extremely concerned if the account prove true—God forbid!"

In a subsequent letter of the 18th, he states:

"Yesterday his excellency the Baron de la Houze, minister plenipotentiary of France, at this court, did me the honour to present me publicly to his majesty, the royal family, and chief personages at the royal palace here.

"I had a very polite and distinguished reception. The queen dowager conversed with me for some time, and said the most civil things. Her majesty has a dignity of person and deportment which becomes her well, and which she has the secret to reconcile with great affability and ease. The princess royal is a charming person, and the graces are so much her own, that it is impossible to see and converse with her without paying her that homage which artless beauty and good nature will ever command. All the royal family spoke to me except the king, who speaks to no person when presented. His majesty saluted me with great complaisance at first, and as often afterwards as we met in the course of the evening. The prince royal is greatly beloved and extremely affable; he asked me a number of per-

* Chamberlain to the king of Poland.

tinent questions respecting America. I had the honour to be invited to sup with his majesty and the royal family. The company at table (consisting of seventy ladies and gentlemen, including the royal family, the ministers of state, and foreign ambassadors) was very brilliant."

It will be seen that he lost no time, as soon as his health permitted, in pressing the objects of his mission; and though he was at the same time engaged in a separate negotiation with Baron Krudner, the Russian envoy at the Court of Denmark, he appears to have urged his demands of indemnification for the lost prizes with at least as much rapidity and energy as the proprieties of diplomacy admitted. And though he had very soon made up his mind about the Russian offers, as will be seen from his letters, this did not occasion the abandonment of his application, which was got rid of by the Danish minister on formal pretexts, and by promises not made to be kept.

On the 19th of March, he addresses M. De Chezaulx, who was still consul at Bergen in Norway, asking him to communicate what he knew and believed "in relation to the true and entire value of the prizes. * * * * From the favourable reception," he says, "with which I have been honoured at this court, I have reason to hope that my mission here will be amicably concluded. Please to address your letter under cover to the Baron de la Houze, to whose kind attention and good offices, I am under infinite obligations. I have the honour to subjoin a letter from the committee of foreign affairs to Dr. Franklin, in the name and by order of Congress, thanking you for your conduct respecting my prizes, and the interests of the citizens of the United States." It would appear from a letter to Mr. Jefferson, written on the 20th, that the court of France had made no formal communication to their minister at Copenhagen, (the Baron de la Houze,) directing him to support the claim. "I pray you," he wrote, "and so does he, to push that point immediately."

On the 24th, he thus addressed the Danish minister of foreign affairs, Compté de Bernstorff. "From the Act of Congress, (the Act by which I am honoured with a gold medal,) I had the

honour to show your excellency the 21st of this month, as well as from the conversation that followed, you must be convinced that circumstances do not permit me to remain here ; but that I am under the necessity, either to return to France or to proceed to Russia. As the minister of the United States of America at Paris gave me the perusal of the packet he wrote by me, and which I had the honour to present to you on my arrival here, it is needless to go into any detail on the object of my mission to this court ; which Mr. Jefferson has particularly explained. The promise you have given me, of a prompt and explicit decision, from this court, on the Act of Congress of the 25th of October last, inspires me with full confidence. I have been very particular in communicating to the United States all the polite attentions with which I have been honoured at this court ; and they will learn with great pleasure the kind reception I had from you. I felicitated myself on being the instrument to settle the delicate national business in question, with a minister who conciliates the views of the wise statesman with the noble sentiments and cultivated mind of the true philosopher and man of letters."

On the 27th, I find a letter from Mr. Jefferson to Jones, dated at Amsterdam, where he had been staying some time longer than he had anticipated. He merely informs him of the delay in receiving news from America ; that there had been a rise of ten per cent. in the English bank stock ; and that the government of that country refused to receive or furnish refreshments to the Russian squadron destined to the Mediterranean. On the 30th, Jones again assailed Count Bernstorff.

" Your silence on the subject of my mission from the United States to this court leaves me in the most painful suspense ; the more so, as I have made your excellency acquainted with the promise I am under to proceed as soon as possible to St. Petersburg. This being the ninth year since the three prizes reclaimed by the United States were seized upon in the port of Bergen, in Norway, it is to be presumed that this court has long since taken an ultimate resolution respecting the compensation de-

mand made by Congress. Though I am extremely sensible of the favourable reception with which I have been distinguished at this court, and am particularly flattered by the polite attentions with which you have honoured me at every conference ; yet I have remarked, with great concern, that you have never led the conversation to the object of my mission here. A man of your liberal sentiments will not, therefore, be surprised, or offended at my plain dealing, when I repeat that I impatiently expect a prompt and categorical answer, in writing, from this court, to the Act of Congress of the 25th of October last. Both my duty and the circumstances of my situation constrain me to make this demand in the name of my sovereign the United States of America ; but I beseech you to believe, that though I am extremely tenacious of the *honour* of the *American flag*, yet my personal interest in the decision I now ask would never have induced me to present myself at this court. You are too just, sir, to delay my business here ; which would put me under the necessity to break the promise I have made to her imperial majesty, conformable to your advice."

To this the count was obliged to reply, which he did, as follows, on the 4th of April.

" You have requested of me an answer to the letter you did me the honour to remit me from Mr. Jefferson, minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America, near his most christian majesty. I do it with so much more pleasure, as you have inspired me with as much interest as confidence, and this occasion appears to me favourable to make known the sentiments of the king my master, on the objects to which we attach so much importance. Nothing can be farther from the plans and the wishes of his majesty than to let fall a negociation which has only been suspended in consequence of circumstances arising from the necessity of maturing a new situation, so as to enlighten himself on their reciprocal interests, and to avoid the inconvenience of a precipitate and imperfect arrangement. I am

authorized, sir, to give you, and through you to Mr. Jefferson, the word of the king, that his majesty will renew the negotiation for a treaty of amity and commerce in the forms already agreed upon, at the instant that the new constitution (that admirable plan, so worthy of the wisdom of the most enlightened men) will have been adopted by the States, to which nothing more was wanted to assure to itself a perfect consideration. If it has not been possible, sir, to discuss, definitively with you, neither the principal object nor its accessories, the idea of eluding the question, or of retarding the decision, had not the least part in it. I have already had the honour to express to you, in our conversations, that your want of plenipotentiary powers from Congress was a natural and invincible obstacle. It would be, likewise, contrary to the established custom to change the seat of negotiation, which has not been broken off, but only suspended, thereby to transfer it from Paris to Copenhagen.

“I have only one more favour to ask of you, sir, that you would be the interpreter of our sentiments in regard to the United States. It would be a source of gratification to me to think that what I have said to you on this subject carries with it that conviction of the truth which it merits. We desire to form with them connexions, solid, useful, and essential; we wish to establish them on bases natural and immovable. The momentary clouds, the incertitudes, which the misfortunes of the times brought with them, exist no longer. We should no longer recollect it, but to feel in a more lively manner the happiness of a more fortunate period; and to show ourselves more eager to prove the dispositions most proper to effect an union, and to procure reciprocally the advantages which a sincere alliance can afford, and of which the two countries are susceptible. These are the sentiments which I can promise you, sir, on our part, and we flatter ourselves to find them likewise in America; nothing, then, can retard the conclusion of an arrangement, which I am happy to see so far advanced.

Paul Jones to Count Bernstorff.

"Copenhagen, April 5, 1788.

"I pray your excellency to inform me when I can have the honour to wait on you, to receive the letter you have been kind enough to promise to write me, in answer to the Act of Congress of the 25th October last. As you have told me that my want of plenipotentiary powers to terminate *ultimately* the business now on the carpet between this court and the United States has determined you to authorize the Baron de Blome to negotiate and settle the same with Mr. Jefferson at Paris, and to conclude at the same time an advantageous treaty of commerce between Denmark and the United States; my business here will of course be at an end when I shall have received your letter, and paid you my thanks in person for the very polite attentions with which you have honoured me."

Thus was this negociation brought to what was in fact its close.*

Jones had received the following letter from Baron Krudner, shortly after his arrival at Copenhagen.

"I am much disappointed at not meeting you at court, as I had promised myself, but a slight indisposition prevented me from going abroad; besides, I have been agreeably occupied in writing letters. My sovereign will learn with pleasure the acquisition which she has made in your great talents. I have her commands for your acceptance of the grade of captain commandant,† with the rank of major general, in her service, and

* Mr Jefferson's reply to the communication of Bernstorff at this time, will be found in his "Writings," Vol. II. p. 326.

† Tooke says in his *Life of Catharine II.* (Vol III. p. 184, Am. Ed.) that the Prince de Nassau-Siegen was the only admiral, and Mr. Spiridoff the only contre admiral in the Russian service, towards the end of this year, 1788. He shows his ignorance as to the commission Jones held, and the services of the latter in the Liman campaign. He says: "in Russia there are three classes of captains. Those of the first have the rank of brigadier; those of the second, of colonel; those of the last, of lieutenant colonel. They all wear the military order of St. George; but are only knights of the fourth class."

that you should proceed as soon as your affairs permit ; the intention of her imperial majesty being to give you a command in the Black Sea, and under the orders of Prince Potemkin, from the opening of the campaign. The immortal glory by which you have illustrated your name cannot make you indifferent to the fresh laurels you must gather in the new career which opens to you. I have the honour of being on this occasion the interpreter of those sentiments of esteem with which for a long period your brilliant exploits have inspired her imperial majesty. Under a sovereign so magnanimous, in pursuing glory you need not doubt of the most distinguished rewards, and that every advantage of fortune will await you," &c. &c.

In announcing the receipt of this letter to Mr. Jefferson, Jones said: " Before you can receive this, M. de Simolin will have informed you that your proposal to him, and his application on that idea, have been well received. The matter is communicated to me here, in the most flattering terms, by a letter I have received from his excellency the Baron de Krudner. There seems, however, to remain some difficulty respecting the *letter* of Monsieur de Simolin's proposal, though it is accepted, *in substance*, with an appearance of great satisfaction. I find myself under the necessity of setting out for St. Petersburg through Sweden in a few days, instead of returning first, as was my wish and intention, to Paris. I hope in the mean time to receive a satisfactory answer, which I shall duly communicate to you."

I cannot see the particular discrepancy between these statements and those contained in the Journal, (which will presently be introduced,) which seems to have struck the writer of the Edinburgh Life. In the Journal Jones says, that on the first suggestion of the matter, he did not feel disposed to enter into a foreign service. But he very soon changed his mind.

The following was his letter to Mr. Jefferson, announcing the termination of his business at the Danish court. It may be considered as apologetical for the step he was about taking, and must not be omitted.

" Copenhagen, April 8, 1788.

" His Excellency THOMAS JEFFERSON, Esq.

" SIR—By my letters to the Count de Bernstorff, and his excellency's answer, you see that my business here is at an end. If I have not finally concluded the object of my mission, it is neither your fault nor mine; the powers I received are found insufficient, and you could not act otherwise than was prescribed in your instructions. Thus it frequently happens, that good opportunities are lost when the supreme power does not place a sufficient confidence in the distant operations of public officers, whether civil or military. I have, however, the melancholy satisfaction to reflect, that I have been received and treated here with a distinction far above the pretensions of my public mission; and I felicitate myself sincerely, on being, at my own expense, (and even at the peril of my life, for my sufferings, from the inclemency of the weather, and my want of proper means to guard against it on the journey, were inexpressible; and I believe, from what I yet feel, will continue to affect my constitution,) the instrument to renew the negociation between this country and the United States; the more so, as the honour is now reserved for you to display your great abilities and integrity by the completion and improvement of what Dr. Franklin had wisely begun. I have done then, what perhaps no other person would have undertaken under the same circumstances; and while I have the consolation to hope that the United States will derive solid advantages from my journey and efforts here, I rest perfectly satisfied, that the interests of the brave men I commanded will experience in you parental attention, and that the American flag can lose none of its lustre, but the contrary, while its honour is confided to you. America being a young nation with an increasing commerce, which will naturally produce a navy, I please myself with the hope, that in the treaty you are about to conclude with Denmark, you will find it easy and highly advantageous to include certain articles for admitting America into the armed neutrality. I persuade myself before-hand, that this would afford pleasure to the empress of

Russia, who is at the head of that noble and humane combination; and as I shall now set out immediately for St. Petersburg, I will mention the idea to her imperial majesty, and let you know her answer.

“If Congress should think I deserve the promotion that was proposed when I was last in America, and should condescend to confer on me the grade of rear admiral, from the day I took the *Serapis*, (23d of September, 1779,) I am persuaded it would be very agreeable to the empress, who now deigns to offer me an equal rank in her service, although I never yet had the honour to draw my sword in her cause, nor to do any other act that could directly merit her imperial benevolence. While I express, in the warm effusion of a grateful heart, the deep sense I feel of my eternal obligation to you, as the author of the honourable prospect that is now before me, I must rely on your friendship to justify to the United States the important step I now take, conformable to your advice. You know I had no idea of this new fortune when I found that you had put it in train, before my last return to Paris from America. I have not forsaken a country, that has had many disinterested and difficult proofs of my steady affection; and I can never renounce the glorious title of a citizen of the *United States*!

“It is true I have not the express permission of the sovereignty, to accept the offer of her imperial majesty; yet America is independent, is in perfect peace, has no public employment for my military talents; but why should I excuse a conduct which I should rather hope, would meet with general approbation? In the latter part of the year 1782, Congress passed an Act for my embarkation in the fleet of his most christian majesty; and when, a few months ago, I left America to return to Europe, I was made the bearer of a letter to his most christian majesty, requesting me to be permitted to embark in the fleets of evolution. Why did Congress pass those Acts? To facilitate my improvement in the art of conducting fleets and military operations. I am then, conforming myself to the views of Congress: but the roll allotted me, is infinitely more high and

difficult than Congress intended. Instead of receiving lessons from able masters, in the theory of war, I am called to immediate practice; where I must command in chief, conduct the most difficult operations, be my own preceptor, and instruct others. Congress will allow me some merit in daring to encounter such multiplied difficulties. The mark I mentioned of the approbation of that honourable body, would be extremely flattering to me in the career I am now to pursue, and would stimulate all my ambition to acquire the necessary talents to merit that, and even greater favours, at a future day. I pray you, sir, to explain the circumstances of my situation, and be the interpreter of my sentiments to the United States in Congress. I ask for nothing; and beg leave to be understood only as having hinted, what is natural to conceive, that the mark of approbation I mentioned, could not fail to be infinitely serviceable to my views and success in the country where I am going.

“The prince royal sent me a messenger, requesting me to come to his apartment. His royal highness said a great many civil things to me, told me the king thanked me for my attention and civil behaviour to the Danish flag, while I commanded in the European seas; and that his majesty wished for occasions to testify to me his personal esteem, &c. I was alone with the prince half an hour. I am with perfect esteem, &c.”

The hint that the empress would be pleased with his receiving the honorary rank of rear admiral from his own government, was drawn forth in consequence of his not obtaining it in the first instance from Russia; upon which he had calculated, and meant, indirectly, to insist. In reply to Baron Krudner, he said: “I am extremely flattered by the obliging things expressed in the letter your excellency has done me the honour to write me yesterday. The very favourable sentiments with which my zeal for the cause of America, rather than my professional skill, has inspired her imperial majesty, fills me with an irresistible desire to merit the precious opinion with which

her majesty deigns to honour me. Though I cannot conceive the reason why any difficulty should be made to my being admitted into the marine of her imperial majesty as rear admiral, a rank to which I have some claim, and that it should at the same time be proposed to give me the grade of major general, to which I have no title, it is not my intention to withdraw from the engagement which you have formed in my name, in the letter you addressed your court on the 23d current. You will be convinced by the papers I have the honour to submit to your inspection, that I am not an adventurer in search of fortune. You will discover, I presume, that my talents have been considerable; but that, loving glory, I am perhaps too much attached to honours, though personal interest is an idol to which I have never bowed the knee. The unbounded admiration and profound respect which I have long felt for the glorious character of her imperial majesty, forbids the idea that a sovereign so magnanimous should sanction any arrangement that may give pain at the outset to the man she deigns to honour with her notice, and who wishes to devote himself entirely to her service. A conjoined command is hurtful, and often fatal in military operations. There is no military man who is so entirely master of his passions as to keep free of jealousy and its consequences on such occasions. Being an entire stranger, I have more to fear from a joint authority than any officer in her majesty's service. But I cannot conceive that her majesty could deem it expedient to *divide the command* in the Black Sea; and if the direction of the military department there is confided to an officer of sufficient capacity and experience, I can neither desire to interfere with his command, nor promise, with a *detachment*, which could not fail to excite his jealousy, to contribute much to the glory of her majesty's arms."

Jones had particular reasons for disliking the subordinate command which was tendered to him. The Prince of Nassau-Siegen, who was now appointed to command the fleet of the empress in the Black Sea, had, as will be recollected, volunteered to accompany him in the secret expedition against Eng-

land in 1779, and abandoned his purpose, if it ever really existed, without even the civility of an apology. He took no notice of Jones' letters on the occasion. His subsequent naval services had been attended with no glory. He had been engaged in the attempt made by the French on the Island of Jersey, which failed altogether, and in the equally unsuccessful attack of Gibraltar by the French and Spanish forces. Jones had a poor opinion of his knowledge as a naval commander, or indeed of his courage. Such was the rival, however, with whom he was now to be associated.

At the court of Denmark, which he was now leaving, he had unquestionably been received with great distinction. He mentions in a letter to the Marquis de La Fayette, written a few months afterwards, that "Mr. Elliott, the same who filched Dr. Lee's papers at Berlin, was furious when he found out his business at Copenhagen. * * * * Every time," he says, "that I was invited to sup with the king, Elliott made an apology. He shut himself up for more than a month, and then left town. This occasioned much laughter; and, as he had shunned society from the time of my arrival, people said he had gone off in a fright."* What seems a little extraordinary, this court shortly after Jones' departure, sent him a patent, granting him 1500 Danish crowns annually, "for the respect he had shown to the Danish flag, while he had commanded in the north seas. It was undoubtedly offered with the double purpose of pleasing the empress and propitiating the American government. Jones did not understand the propriety of this gift at the time, and makes no men-

* Mr. Gilbert Elliott, the English minister at Copenhagen. In Tooke's *Life of the Empress Catharine II.* (p. 331, Vol. III. Amer. ed.) he says that this functionary quitted Copenhagen, and crossed Sweden in great haste, to summon the Danish prince, Charles of Hesse, to raise the siege of Gotenburg, which he was carrying on, in pursuance of the engagements of the court of Copenhagen with Russia, with which power Sweden was now at war; and threatened the vengeance of England if he did not evacuate the territory without delay. This cannot be identical with the sudden departure referred to by Jones, and must have been subsequent to his leaving St. Petersburg.

tion of it in his correspondence with his American friends at that period. Three years after, he found it convenient to avail himself of it ; but he then found, that like the promises in relation to the prize money, it was but an unmeaning compliment.

His journey to the capital of Russia was an extraordinary one. We shall give his own account of it in his journal. He says to La Fayette : " The empress received me with a distinction the most flattering that perhaps any stranger can boast of. On entering into the Russian service, her majesty conferred on me immediately the grade of rear admiral. I was detained against my will a fortnight, and continually feasted at court, and in the first society. This was a cruel grief to the English, and I own that their vexation, which I believe was general in and about St. Petersburg, gave me no pain. You would be charmed with Prince Potemkin. He is a most amiable man, and none can be more noble-minded. For the empress, fame has never yet done her justice. I am sure that no stranger who has not known that illustrious character, ever conceived how much her majesty is made to reign over a great empire, to make people happy, and to attach grateful and susceptible minds. Is not the present a happy moment for France to declare for Russia ?"

Such were the first expressions of pleasure and exultation which his reception at this brilliant court, and immediate appointment drew from him. It is a very long inference and an erroneous one, which one of his biographers has drawn from them, that his regard for, or devotion to America was diminished. His uniform professions are entitled to full credit, that he gloried most in being a citizen of the United States ; while he would never be engaged in hostile operations against France. And the letter to which we are referring, to La Fayette, is devoted principally to the prospects and policy of his adopted country ; the advantage she would derive from joining in the armed neutrality, the commerce she might carry on with Russia, her new constitution, and the danger he apprehended, in common with

Count Bernstorff, from the president being made commander in chief of the army, &c.

He was, indeed, in full vogue at St. Petersburg.* Every attention was shown to him by the French minister at that court, and he was waited upon by all the members of the different legations, and the principal Russian nobles, as appears from the notes preserved among his papers. The jealousy of the English officers was indeed great, and openly expressed, as is mentioned in the subjoined note; but it did not affect his immediate and triumphant elevation to the rank of *contre-amiral*. Tooke, in his life of Catharine II.† speaking of him with all his national prejudice, as an “English pirate and renegado,” says that, “not meeting with the consideration he expected in America, he made a tender of his services to the court of St. Petersburg, &c. that the British officers, applicants for employment, went in a body, to the amount of near thirty, to lay down their commissions; declaring it was impossible to serve under him, or to act with him in any measure or capacity.” All this, however, did not move the empress; and Tooke, if he knew any thing about them, does not make any mention of the services of Jones in the campaign of Liman; an omission which tends to throw discredit on many of his other statements.

* The following is an extract of a letter from St. Petersburg, which appeared at this time in an Edinburgh paper.

“Paul Jones arrived here a few days ago. He was presented to the sovereign by the French ambassador, and immediately promoted to the rank of admiral. He is to set out soon to take the command of a squadron in the Black Sea. I had the satisfaction to see this honest man while he was examining one of our dock yards. He is a well made man of a middle size; he wears a French uniform with the cross of St. Louis and a Danish order, which he received at Copenhagen, where he had the honour to dine with the king; he has also received since he came here, one of the first orders of merit in this country, so that it is to be feared they will spoil him by making too much of him. The English officers in this service have presented a memorial to Admiral Greig refusing to serve with Jones, and threatening to throw up their commissions. Whether they will stand to their text, it is difficult to say, but they have acted very spiritedly so far.

† Vol. III. p. 321. Am. Ed.

In a letter written to Jones at this time by Mr. Framery, secretary of legation at Copenhagen, we find the following passages.

"It is to be believed you are yet at St. Petersburg. I will learn with increased gratification, your arrival in this capital, as reports are in circulation here that you have perished in a storm, in the Gulf of Finland, but as the relation of this pretended misfortune changes every day, I am still persuaded that it exists only in the mouths of evil disposed persons, who first forged and spread the account. My good wishes accompany you in every part of the world, animated by the remembrance of the friendship you expressed for me when at Copenhagen. The Baron de la Houze to whom I mentioned that I was about to write to you, has charged me to renew to you the assurance of the sentiments of esteem and real attachment with which you have inspired him. He is so far from giving credence to the report which I have mentioned, that he awaits by the arrival of every courier, the letter which you promised to write him, as soon as you had reached your port of destination."

Jones received before his departure from St. Petersburg, the following letter and enclosure from the empress.

From the Empress Catharine to Rear Admiral Paul Jones.

"SIR,

"A courier from Paris has just brought from my envoy in France, M. de Simolin, the enclosed letter to Count Besborodko.* As I believe that this letter may help to confirm to you what I have already told you verbally, I have sent it, and beg you to return it, as I have not even made a copy be taken, so anxious am I that you should see it. I hope that it will efface all doubts from your mind, and prove to you that you are to be connected only with those who are most favourably disposed towards you. I have no doubt but that on your side you will

* Russian Minister for the Home Department.

fully justify the opinion which we have formed of you, and apply yourself with zeal to support the reputation, and the name you have acquired for valour and skill on the element in which you are to serve.

“ Adieu, I wish you happiness and health,

“ CATHARINE.”

Extract of the Letter from M. de Simolin to Count de Besborodko, enclosed in the above.

“ The letter with which your excellency favoured me on the 16th February, was delivered by Mr. Poliranoff. By it I was informed of the resolution of her imperial majesty, on the subject of the engagement with the Chevalier Paul Jones ; and the same day Lieutenant Colonel de Baner, who was despatched from St. Elizabeth by Prince Potemkin on the 9th of March, brought me two letters, the subject of one of which was the said Chevalier Jones, whom he requested me to induce to repair to his head-quarters as quickly as possible, that he might employ his talents at the opening of the campaign ; and to assure him that in entering the service, he, (Potemkin,) would do all that depended on him to make his situation pleasant and advantageous, and certainly procure for him occasions in which he might display his skill and valour.”*

The following is a translation of part of a letter, written to Count Segur, on Jones' arrival at St. Elizabeth : “ I was received with much cordiality by Prince Potemkin, and have received very great attentions from every body during the day and two nights which I have spent here. I find the prince a very amiable man. I am much pleased with him, and greatly desire to merit his regard. The Prince de Ligne was absent ; but M. le Chevalier and Brigadier Ribas has undertaken to attend to the delivery of all the letters of which I was the bearer. A thousand compliments, I pray you, to the Grand Ecuyer, to ma-

* “ Has he kept his word ? ” is the commentary made in the margin of this letter at a subsequent period.

dame, to the fair Countess of Salloub, the charming Marie, and all the amiable ladies whom I had the honour of seeing at St. Petersburg. The prince has told me that his charming niece would visit these coasts before going to Italy. I should be delighted to see her. She is a very interesting person.

"I shall write to the empress, who has addressed to me a letter full of goodness, but I shall never be able to express how much greater I find her than fame reports. With the character of a very great man, she will be always adored as the most amiable and captivating of the fair sex.

"As to yourself, my dear count, you have treated me with a kindness and friendship so precious to my heart, that I am sure you will render justice to the sentiments which your conduct towards me must produce in a soul of sensibility, which has loved you for a long time past. I therefore address to you no compliments, nor to M. de Genet, whose father was one of the men for whom I had the greatest attachment.

"I shall write to General de Momonoff, who is a very agreeable man, and whose regard I desire to merit. After having had a *Te Deum* sung to-day, we have drunk her majesty's health in the good wine of which you made me a present."

War had been impending between Russia and the Porte, since the disturbances in the Crimea, in 1777, occasioned by the election of a Khan, in which the former interfered to support one of the candidates, with the ultimate view of dispossessing him entirely. The empress, encouraged by her eccentric and overbearing favourite and general, Potemkin, in the ambitious desire of being crowned at Constantinople, never lost sight of this intention. The foundations of the city of Cherson were only laid in 1783, and in a very short time it counted 40,000 inhabitants, and ships of war were launched from its yards. This advantage increased the cupidity of the Autocrat, and the invasion of the Crimea was determined upon, as a necessary preliminary to operations against Turkey. A pretext was soon found, in the dissensions between the Tartar princes, and the usurpation took

place effectually, though the Khan was left for a short time with nominal authority. At the same time Potemkin and Suworof subdued and received the homage of the tribes of the Kuban, and the extensive wilds more remote. A manifesto was published to justify these unprovoked acts, and the annexation of those districts to the empire. The Porte replied in an able answer, but did not yet appeal to arms; which was what the empress wished for. England urged the divan to the measure, but the influence of France and Austria, and oriental indolence, prevailed against the advice. By a new treaty the sovereignty of Russia over the Crimea, and great part of Kuban, with the right of the dominion of the Euxine, and to the passage of the Dardanelles, was conceded to Russia. New usurpations followed immediately on the part of the latter. In 1786, Catharine projected a magnificent progress to the Euxine, where, after having solemnly taken the sceptre of the Khan, it was her intention to conduct her young grandson, Constantine. to the gates of that city, with reference to whose contemplated destiny he had been named. His sickness prevented this part of the project from being executed; and the progress, though splendid, was not conducted on so grand a scale as had been at first proposed. She was attended by the existing favourite Momonoff, the Grand Ecuyer Narichkin, others of the Russian nobility and courtiers, the ambassadors of France and Austria, and the English envoy. She was joined at Kieff by Prince Potemkin, and the Prince Nassau-Siegen, who seems to have won favour for himself on the occasion. In the beginning of the spring she embarked with a numerous and brilliant retinue, the king of Poland being in company, and the emperor of Austria joining her on the route. The divan were uneasy at this visitation; and while the empress was at Cherson, four of their ships of the line anchored at the mouth of the Dnieper, though not with actual hostile intentions. The empress returned, and Potemkin, who longed for the grand ribbon of the order of St. George, had not yet effected his object of forcing the Turks to act first on the offensive. No means were left un

tried. The consul in Moldavia stirred up insurrections; the Russian ships abused their privileges conceded by the Porte; a correspondence was formed with Egypt, and intrigues were carried on with the Greeks of Smyrna. The troubles in Georgia were fomented by the protection given to Prince Heraclius. These and various other grievances led to the presentation on the 26th July, 1787, of a memorial from the grand vizier, and reis effendi, to the French minister; to which an immediate answer was requested. The ambassador asked for time to consult his court, which was granted. But the influence of Great Britain now predominated, and war was declared before any answer was received from Russia. Eighty thousand men were ordered to march to cover Oczakow. A large army advanced to the Danube; and a squadron of 16 ships of the line, 8 frigates, and several gallies entered the Euxine under the command of the capitan-pacha. The Greeks were disarmed, and the Tartars invited to return to their allegiance to the grand seignior. They complied with the call, and their Shah had soon under his orders an army of 40,000 men.

This news was received with joy at St. Petersburg. A fleet of 8 ships of the line, 12 frigates, and near 200 chebeks or gunboats was equipped in the Euxine, and two squadrons commanded by admirals Kruse and Greig were in readiness at Cronstadt to sail for the Mediterranean. Joseph II. the ally of the empress, sent 80,000 Austrians on their march to Moldavia, and the empress published manifestos to assert the justice of her cause. Hostile operations on the part of Sweden, which it is unnecessary here to dwell upon, gave a check to the exultation at St. Petersburg, which was left defenceless; and the appearance of the Swedish fleet off Cronstadt occasioned a recall of the sailing orders given to the Russian admirals there. At this period, Tooke says that the remonstrance of the English officers occasioned a recall of the appointment of Jones to a command in the Cronstadt fleet; for which assertion there is no authority whatever.

It has been thought proper to introduce the Journal of Ad-

miral Jones by the foregoing brief account, (from the history of Catharine II.) of previous events, and of the circumstances attending his entering into the Russian service. This Journal was prepared by himself, and arranged with the accompanying documents for his own vindication; but was, unwisely perhaps, not published by him during his lifetime. If he sometimes speaks in terms of bitterness of those with whom he acted, it will be found that he had but too much cause to complain of them. He was treated with caprice; his due honours were sought to be wrested from him; he was sent back from the fleet cavalierly, and he was foully slandered. Over all this he triumphed in the issue completely; but his health and spirits were irretrievably affected by the ignoble and ungenerous persecution.

A copy of this Journal handsomely engrossed in the French language, followed by ninety-three *Pièces Justificatives* is before the compiler. Reference will be made to the latter, where it seems necessary.

AVANT-PROPOS OF THE REAR ADMIRAL.

“The United States of America having charged me with a mission of a political nature to the court of Denmark, and having at the same time furnished me with a letter to deliver personally to his most christian majesty, Louis XVI. I embarked at New York on the 11th November, 1787, in an American vessel bound for Holland, the captain of which agreed to land me in France.

“After a voyage of a month, I landed at Dover, in England, not being able to get ashore in France. From Dover I went to London, where I saw the minister of the United States. I passed some days with my friends there, and went to Covent Garden Theatre. I afterwards set out for Paris, where I arrived on the 20th December.

“Mr. Jefferson, the ambassador of the United States, visited me on the night of my arrival, and informed me that M. de

Simolin, minister plenipotentiary of her imperial majesty of all the Russias, had often spoken of me while I was in America, and appeared anxious to succeed in prevailing on me to go to Russia, to command the fleet against the Turks in the Black Sea. I regarded this proposal as a castle in the air; and as I did not wish for any employment in foreign service, I avoided meeting M. de Simolin, for whose character I had, at the same time, the highest respect.

“As the letter, of which I was the bearer to the king of France, concerned myself alone, my friends advised me not to seek an interview with his majesty before my return from Denmark. In that letter the United States requested his majesty to permit me to embark in his fleet of evolutions, to complete my knowledge of naval tactics, and of military and maritime operations upon the great scale.

“Speaking to a man of very high rank at Paris, I repeated to him what had been communicated to me by Mr. Jefferson. He replied, that ‘he would advise me to go to Constantinople at once rather than enter the service of Russia.’

“On the 1st of February, 1788, at the moment of my departure from Paris, I received a note from Mr. Littlepage, chamberlain to the king of Poland, earnestly requesting me to breakfast with him next morning, as he had matters of the utmost importance to communicate to me. I went to him that same night, and he told me that M. de Simolin had the greatest desire to converse with me before my departure, and that he calculated on breakfasting with us next day.

“M. de Simolin said the most polite and obliging things to me; that, having known me well by reputation whilst he was ambassador in England, and since he had come to France, he had already proposed me to his sovereign as commander of the fleet in the Black Sea, &c. and that he expected her imperial majesty would make me proposals in consequence. I did not yet look upon the affair as serious; but I was much flattered with the politeness of M. de Simolin, and endeavoured to express to him my sense of it. When he had left the house, Mr.

Littlepage assured me that he had written to his court, that 'if her imperial majesty confided to me the chief command of her fleet on the Black Sea, with *carte blanche*, he would answer for it that in less than a year I should make Constantinople tremble.'

"In Denmark I put in train a treaty between that power and the United States; but it was interrupted by the arrival of a courier from St. Petersburg, despatched express by the empress, to invite me to repair to her court.

"Though I foresaw many difficulties* in the way of my entering the service of Russia, I believed that I could not avoid going to St. Petersburg, to thank the empress for the favourable opinion she had conceived of me. I transferred the treaty going forward at Copenhagen to Paris, to be concluded there, and set out for St. Petersburg by Sweden. At Stockholm I staid but one night, to see Count Rasoumorsky. Want of time prevented me from appearing at court.

"At Gresholm I was stopped by the ice, which prevented me from crossing the Gulf of Bothnia, and even from approaching the first of the isles in the passage. After having made several unsuccessful efforts to get to Finland by the isles, I imagined that it might be practicable to effect my object by doubling the ice to the southward, and entering the Baltic Sea.

"This enterprise was very daring, and had never before been attempted; but by the north the roads were impracticable, and, knowing that the empress expected me from day to day, I could not think of going back by Elsinour.

"I left Gresholm early one morning, in an undecked passage boat, about thirty feet in length. I made another boat follow,

* Two letters are here referred to, one of which is from Baron Krudner to Jones, informing him that he had communicated to the empress, Jones' acceptance of the grade of captain commandant with the rank of major general in her service. It is dated March 22d. The other is Jones' reply on the following day, which has been inserted. The "difficulties" referred to are, partly that he thought himself entitled to the rank of rear admiral, but chiefly that he apprehended inconvenience and disagreements from a joint command

of half that size. This last was for dragging over the cakes of ice, and for passing from one to another, to gain the coast of Finland. I durst not make my project known to the boatmen, which would have been the sure means of deterring them from it. After endeavouring, as before, to gain the first isle, I made them steer for the south, and we kept along the coast of Sweden all the day, finding with difficulty room enough to pass between the ice and the shore. Towards night, being almost opposite Stockholm, pistol in hand, I forced the boatmen to enter the Baltic Sea, and steer to the east. We ran towards the coast of Finland. All night the wind was fair, and we hoped to land next day. This we found impossible. The ice did not permit us to approach the shore, which we only saw from a distance. It was impossible to regain the Swedish side, the wind being strong and directly contrary. I had no other course to adopt but to make for the Gulf of Finland. There was a small compass in the boat, and I fixed the lamp of my travelling carriage so as to throw a light on it.

“On the second night we lost the small boat, which was sunk; but the men saved themselves in the large one, which with difficulty escaped the same fate. At the end of four days we landed at Reval, in Livonia, which was regarded as a kind of miracle. Having satisfied the boatmen for their services and their loss, I gave them a good pilot, with the provisions necessary for making their homeward voyage, when the weather should become more favourable.

“I arrived at St. Petersburg in the evening on the 23d of April, old style, and on the 25th had my first audience of the empress. Her majesty gave me so flattering a reception, and up to the period of my departure treated me with so much distinction, that I was entirely captivated, and put myself into her hands without making any stipulation for my personal advantage. I demanded but one favour, ‘that she would never condemn without hearing me.’

“On the 7th May, I set out from the imperial palace of Sarscosello carrying with me a letter from her majesty to his high-

ness the Prince Marshal Potemkin at St. Elizabeth, where I arrived on 19th. The prince marshal received me with much kindness, and destined me the command of the fleet of Sevastapol against the capitan pacha, who, he supposed, intended to make descents in the Crimea. His highness was mistaken in this, and the next day he received information that the capitan pacha was at anchor within Kinbourn, having come to succour Oczakow with a hundred and twenty armed vessels and other armed craft.

“The prince marshal then requested me to assume command of the naval force stationed in the Liman, (which is at the embouchure of the Dnieper,) to act against the capitan pacha till Oczakow should fall. I considered this change as a mark of confidence flattering to myself; and having received my orders, I set out on the same day for Cherson, in company with the Chevalier de Ribas, Brigadier du Jour of the prince marshal. He was ordered to make all the arrangements necessary to place me in command. At parting, the prince marshal promised me ‘to bring forward his troops without loss of time, to co-operate with the maritime force he had intrusted to my command;’ and on the journey M. de Ribas told me, ‘that all the force of the Liman, comprehending that of the prince of Nassau, would be under my orders.’

“I spent but one evening and night at Cherson. But even this short period was enough to show that I had entered on a critical and disagreeable service. Rear Admiral Mordwinoff, chief of the admiralty, did not affect to disguise his displeasure at my arrival; and though he had orders from the prince marshall to communicate to me all the details concerning the force in the Liman, and to put me in possession of the silk flag belonging to my rank as rear admiral, he gave himself not the least trouble to comply therewith.

“We set out early next morning for Glouboca, the armament of the Liman being at anchor very near that place, in the roads of Schiroque, between the bar of the Dnieper and the embouchure of the river Bog. We went on board the Wolodimer

before mid-day, where we found that Brigadier Alexiano had assembled all the commanders, to draw them into a cabal against my authority. I may mention here, that this man was a Greek by birth, as ignorant of seamanship as of military affairs; who, under an exterior and manners the most gross, concealed infinite cunning; and, by an impertinent roughness of discourse, had the address to pass for a blunt honest man. Though a subject of Turkey, it was alleged that he made war with the Mussulmans by attacking their commerce in the Archipelago on his own authority, and that he had followed this means of enriching himself up to the period that Count D'Orloff arrived with the Russian fleet. Though I do not affirm the fact, several persons of credit have assured me that there are often pirates who infest the coast, and the isles between Constantinople and Egypt, who attack the commerce of all nations, and run down the vessels after having seized the cargoes and cut the throats of the crews. Alexiano had been employed by Count D'Orloff. He had reached the grade of captain *de haut bord*, with the rank of brigadier. He felt his spirits ruffled in the first instance, and afterwards made great merit with the prince marshal, of the sacrifice which he affected to make in serving under me. He said that, if he withdrew, all the other officers would do the same. The prince marshal sent presents to his wife, and wrote him kindly, persuading him to remain in the service. All the objections he made were bravadoes, to enable himself to make something out of the difficulty; for, from what followed, I know that, had he left the service, it would have been alone, and that no one would have regretted his absence.

"To give time to those angry spirits to become calm, and to be able to decide on the part I should take, I proposed to Brigadier de Ribas, that we should together make a journey to Kinbourn, to see the entrance of Dnieper and reconnoitre the position and strength of the Turkish fleet and flotilla. At my return all the officers appeared contented, and I hoisted my flag on board the Wolodimer on the 26th of May, 1788.

"The prince of Nassau-Siegen, whom I had known slightly

at Paris, told me, 'that if we gained any advantage over the Turks, it was necessary to exaggerate it to the utmost; and that this was the counsel the Chevelier de Ribas had given him.' I replied, 'that I never had adopted that method of making myself of consequence.'"

Extract of a Journal of the Campaign in the Liman, in 1788.

"At the opening of this campaign the squadron of Cherson was obliged to remain for two days in the road of Schiroque, till the troops should embark which were to form part of the crew. The prince of Nassau,* who had been appointed commander of the flotilla, and who had by this time received on board the troops intended for him, durst not venture to advance four or five verstes to take station opposite to the Bog, without being escorted by three frigates. The prince of Nassau made so many objections to the danger of his situation,† that on the 28th of

* In a letter from Potemkin, dated at St. Elizabeth, on the 30th May, (all the dates quoted are old style,) he expresses the greatest pleasure at learning from Chevalier Ribas, that harmony was established between the rear admiral and the prince. "I regard," he said, "this concert, as the basis of all the good services which your talents and acknowledged courage enable you both to render to my country." A few days proved how unstable this basis was.

† Three notes from Nassau are inserted in the *Pièces Justificatives*; dated successively, on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of this month, (May.) In the first, he says, he shall see the rear admiral ("my dear general," he calls him) arrive, with great pleasure. He says, that the strong gale that harrassed the fleet was lucky for them, as it prevented the Turks from attacking him; in which case he would have been compelled to retreat. "I reckon upon you, at farthest, during the course of the day. You know, my dear general, my esteem and friendship. It will end only with my life." In the second, he begs, that if Jones could not join him, he would send two hundred grenadiers, which were under his (Nassau's) command; as it would be better that the troops should not be *mixed*. The bad grammar and worse spelling of the prince is scrupulously adhered to in those transcripts. The originals are before me; the last is least incorrect, and as it is brief, it may be amusing. "*Je vous envoie mon cher general, les deux reponces de Mr. de Souvorow, qu'il m'a envoyés ouverts. Je vous prie de me mander ce que vous ferés, étant décidé, puisque j'en ai la liberté, a ne marcher que lorsque vous me protegeois.*" In his hand writing, also, the prince was a rival of Buonaparte.

May, the day following, Rear Admiral Chevalier Paul Jones, commander of the squadron, reinforced him with a fourth frigate.

“ On the 29th, the troops being all on board, the squadron advanced, and got beyond the flotilla, which lay scattered about at anchor without any observance of order. The squadron drew up opposite the first village, to the west of the Bog, in an obtuse angle, and thus commanded, by a cross fire, the only passage of the Liman. This lies between two sand banks, through which the Turks must advance with their heavy vessels. By this position the rear admiral covered Cherson, and the country on both banks of the Liman, made good the free passage of the Bog to the army of the prince marshal, and held the Turks in check in any attempt they might make against Kinbourn.

“ The prince of Nassau at this time talked a great deal of projects of descents, surprises, and attacks, but without any rational plan.

“ A battery having been raised upon the point of Stanislaus, the prince of Nassau could not help exclaiming, ‘ that he was delighted with it, as in case of necessity he might there find shelter.’ He was not ignorant that the rear admiral could not have retreated, as several of his vessels were already within a few inches of getting aground. The rear admiral was aware that the Turks, having a very superior force, would not give any opportunity of attacking them ; and that it was therefore necessary to maintain the strong position he had taken, till the arrival of Prince Potemkin. in order to advance in concert, and combine their operations with those of the land forces.

“ In the meanwhile General Suvorrof, commandant of Kinbourn, made the rear admiral responsible for the safety of that place ;* while Brigadier Alexiano and the prince of Nassau or

* On the 31st, there is a letter from Jones to Ribas, informing him that the Prince de Nassau asserted that he had *carte blanche*. “ I was surprised,” he says, “ at hearing him talk this morning of advancing. He held a different language one or two days

their part, did all that was possible to make him distrustful of the means which he possessed for attack or defence. They alleged, that the vessels forming the flotilla, having been constructed merely to convey the carriages of the empress in her late progress, might be expected, at the first attack, to sink under the enormous weight of the guns.

“ The squadron had a formidable appearance, but little real strength. The Wolodimer and the Alexander were but half armed; and both vessels were already within a few inches of touching the bottom, so shallow is the Liman for vessels of war. In this most critical situation, having no orders from his highness the prince marshal for his guidance, and knowing nothing of his intentions, nor of the actual position of his army, the rear admiral resolved on assembling a council of war, in conformity to the ordinance of Peter the Great. The council he opened by a speech suited to the occasion, the main object of which was to show the necessity of a perfect understanding between the

since, when he wanted to retreat, under a false alarm. Should we receive the least check, it may derange or render impracticable the attack on Oczakow. Kinbourn has not been attacked, and cannot, in my opinion, be in any danger, if the army of Prince Potemkin has passed the Bog, which, after his highness' promise, I have a right to suppose. The Turks will find work enough on the other side.” On the same day, there is a note from Suvorof to Jones, throwing upon him the responsibility spoken of in the text. It is rather characteristic. “ Your excellency—I have not received the copy of his highness Prince Potemkin's orders for you. You will see my whole opinion in a letter to the prince of Nassau, as you are acting with him. You are well enough, with the two squadrons, but you know well that, under the circumstances, the *Radical* of the operations regards Kinbourn, a principal, efficacious, and unequivocal point, and one on which all our cares and pains should be directed. It is plausible enough to wait for the approach of the land army. In the meanwhile, *I cannot answer for results*. Enough said, for a soldier who has never been a seaman. Ever your excellency's humble and obedient servant, Alexandre Suvorof.” Jones says in a note: “ I beg the general's pardon; but the *Radical* regarded Cherson; and the capitan pacha had too much sense not to prefer it to such a place as Kinbourn, which he could easily have taken afterwards.” In communicating copies of Suvorof's letters to the Chevalier Ribas, for the inspection of Potemkin, Jones begged for explicit orders, “ in order that there might be no mistake among so many commanders; each of whom believed himself independent of the others; which might lead to mischievous consequences.”

squadron and the flotilla ; and that, uniting heart and hand, forgetting all personal considerations, they should determine to conquer, as the true glory of a patriot was to be useful to his country.*

“He proposed to them nine questions. It was decided, to act together, mingle together, in one and the same order of battle; that if the wind should be from a point from N. to S. E. the prince should detach a part of the flotilla, at 1 A. M. and should be supported at day break by the squadron of the rear admiral, to cut off the retreat of the enemy’s small craft which were near the first village east of Oczakow ; and that the best position† for the squadron and flotilla, in the Liman, to cover

* There is a *proces verbal* of this council, No. 83, of the *Pièces Justificatives*. The following is preserved as the address of the rear admiral: “Gentlemen—Having been suddenly called to serve her imperial majesty, I have need of double indulgence, being as yet ignorant of the language and customs of the country. I confess I mistrust my capacity properly to discharge all the duties of the high trust with which her majesty has honoured me ; but I rely on my zeal, and on your favour, co-operation, and candid advice, for the good of the service. You are met, gentleman, on serious business. We are to discuss points which touch nearly the honour of the Russian flag, and the interests of her majesty. We have to deal with a formidable enemy ; but if we are united and of one mind in all our efforts, if our operations are well concerted and vigorously executed, the known courage of Russians, the cause of the empress and of the country, and the remembrance of so many past victories afford us the most flattering hope of success, and cannot fail to inspire invincible resolution. We must resolve to conquer. Let us join our hands and our hearts. Let us show that our feelings are noble, and cast far from us all personal considerations. Honour enough may be gained by every individual ; but the true glory of a citizen is to be useful to his country.” The questions follow, on three of which only resolutions were passed, as stated in the Journal.

† Jones says in a note: “This was not the rear admiral’s opinion,” and refers to a letter written by him to the Prince de Nassau on the 1st June. In this he says: “If you will show me a more advantageous position than that which I have taken, I will change my plan with pleasure, and adopt yours. If you think my duty requires me to attack the Turkish fleet under existing circumstances, [It was then ranged under the cannon of Oczakow.—*Note by Jones.*] I ask you if I must not wait, to conquer it? Who will justify me, if, on my own motion, and without any necessity, or waiting for sure news of the position of the army of Prince Potemkin, I should expose the squadron to be burned or captured? Do you believe the enemy will dare attempt a descent on this side of Kinbourn, to find himself between two fires? Last year’s experience proves that he will run no risks on the other side; and that the garrison is too strong,

Kinbourn and act on the defensive, until the approach of the army under Prince Potemkin, was four verstes farther in advance, opposite the first village east of Oczakow, in a straight line, N. N.E. S.S.W. The batteries in the spaces between the ships, and a corps of reserve, composed of a division of the flotilla, to cover the right wing. The council was to have met again next day, to decide on the other points which the rear admiral had to propose; among which was the best manner of attack and defence, and the general arrangement of signals, which ought all, in his opinion, to be made on board of the same vessel; but M. de Nassau and the Brigadier Alexiano opposed this, and the council did not re-assemble as proposed.

“On the 6th of June, at 2 in the morning, the prince of Nassau advanced, as had been previously agreed on, with the greater part of the flotilla; but, in place of cutting off the retreat of the vessels forming the enemy’s advanced guard, he retired at day break before a very inferior force, and without offering the smallest resistance; and the Turks chased him, keeping up a cannonade, into the midst of the squadron, which had advanced to take the position assigned to them.

“The precipitate retreat of the prince of Nassau inspired the Turks so much, that during the night between the 6th and 7th, they drew up their flotilla in two divisions, in a shallow close by their own shore. The first of these divisions had by

and its generals skillful enough to repel an attack of 10,000 men. But, should the squadron which I have the honour to command, be destroyed, I need not suggest to you, that the Bog, Cherson, &c. would be open to the assaults of the enemy. I wish with all my heart, that your highness would place one or two batteries under the walls of Kinbourn to reinforce the place. [General Suvorof had earnestly asked for this and I should have been glad to gratify him.—*Note by Jones.*] But you must perceive, that it is impossible for me to give you an escort up to the batteries of Kinbourn, without first conquering the Turkish fleet. My instructions are, to protect Kinbourn, which I think I am doing at this moment. If I advance, I shall find myself in a position much weaker, with no advantage which I can apprehend. Our force in row boats is greatly superior to the Turks, and we can at any time go to the assistance of Kinbourn, though the wind should be contrary.”

day dawn advanced within cannon shot of our reserve, which had been posted the previous night on the right wing.

“ At sunrise the Turks made sail ; and Brigadier Alexiano ran upon the deck of the Wolodimer half naked, exclaiming like a frantic man, in French and Russian, that the Turks were going to attack and board us, and that we would be blown to pieces for having been so foolish as to leave our former position. He had, notwithstanding, in the council of war, given his voice in favour of the position we now actually held. Brigadier Ribas, the captain, and all the crew, were witnesses of his extravagant and unjustifiable behaviour.

“ This proved a false alarm ; the Turkish fleet did not stir.

“ The prince of Nassau came on board the Wolodimer, and the rear admiral proposed to him to reconnoitre the enemy's fleet and flotilla. As they advanced together, the first division of the Turkish flotilla began to fire from their canoes, and raised their anchors and rowed forward towards our reserve, which they attacked briskly. At the same time several corps of Turkish troops advanced along the opposite bank, as if they intended to establish a post or battery to act on our flank. As our reserve had been posted to cover our right wing, the prince of Nassau, who knew not what to do, proposed to make it draw up in the form of a *crochet de houlette*, the better to sustain the assault. The rear admiral told him, that on the contrary, it was necessary to lift the anchors with the utmost despatch, and to form in line of battle to meet the attack of the Turks. The combat having commenced according to this plan, the rear admiral hastened along our line, to issue orders to the squadron, and, above all, to make the remainder of the flotilla, posted between the ships and upon the left wing, advance. The wind being adverse, he made these vessels be towed by the ships' boats and other boats attached to the squadron ; and by an oblique movement formed in front line, with the intention of cutting off the retreat of the enemy, and galling him by a cross fire. As soon as the capitan pacha perceived the manœuvre of the rear admiral, he came forward himself in his kirlangitch,

having a very favourable wind, and made the second division of his flotilla advance. At this time our reserve was very critically situated. A double chaloupe quitted the action, and four of our galleys were in danger of being captured. The prince of Nassau, who did not relish going himself, sent Brigadier Corsacoff, who made them retreat. Instead of remaining with the reserve, which, being without a commander, was in very great disorder, the prince of Nassau quitted his own post, and stationed himself before the rear admiral, where he could be of no use whatever. The rear admiral went into the same boat with the prince of Nassau, and again issued his orders along the line. Being now within cannon shot of the enemy, he opened fire, advancing always in an oblique line to cut off his retreat. At the same time he despatched Brigadier Alexiano to endeavour to rally the vessels of the reserve, which the prince of Nassau had deserted; but Alexiano contented himself with waving his hat in the air, and shouting from behind the lines—‘Fire, my boys, on the kirlangitch of the capitan pacha!’

“When the line led on by the rear admiral came to close fire with the enemy, their flotilla was thrown into the utmost confusion. Our reserve gave no farther way, and the enemy was placed under a cross fire. The capitan pacha availed himself of the only resource he had left; the wind being in his favour, he set every sail to withdraw his force. Had he remained a half hour longer, he would have been surrounded. Two of his vessels were burnt in this affair. The flotilla of the enemy was composed of fifty-seven vessels, and we chased them up to their fleet. The rear admiral, who had directed the whole affair, left all the credit of it to the prince of Nassau.

“An idea may be formed of the capacity of this prince, from the circumstance that, at the beginning of the action he requested the rear admiral to bring forward to the support of the reserve only the vessels posted on the left wing, which consisted of one galley and two double chaloupes. Besides the insufficiency of force, these vessels had a very long way to make, and that against the wind.

"The Turks remained quiet for some time after this. The prince of Nassau, who had scarce spoken one word during the affair, save to make extravagant professions of regard for the rear admiral,* now began to give himself airs. On the 13th June he addressed a writing of an extraordinary character to the rear admiral, the object of which appeared to be, that an ad-

* I find a letter which must have been written, according to the old style, on the 8th June, from Mr. Littlepage, who had just arrived at the camp on the Bog, congratulating Jones on this affair, and informing him of the satisfaction which Mr. Jefferson, the Marquis de la Fayette, and all his friends in Paris felt, on hearing of his appointment. He says: "Your star is bright; and not, I hope, to be eclipsed by the Crescent. Prince Potemkin is much your friend." In his reply, on the 11th, Jones says: "The prince wrote me a letter of thanks for the affair of the 7th. If the honour had been ten times greater, I should have renounced it altogether in favour of the Prince de Nassau; but I am sorry to say, he is too jealous to be content with my self-denial. Perhaps he is ill advised, without knowing it. There is nothing, consistent with my honour, that I would not do to make him easy. I am the more in pain, as I understand he spoke favourably of me to the prince before I arrived. If he now becomes my enemy, I shall not imitate his example. It was my intention to pay him a compliment, when I said, in my letter to the prince, that 'he had taken my counsel in good part, in the affair of the 7th.' I showed the Prince de Nassau that letter, and he seemed pleased with it. In the affair, he embraced me, and said, '*we should always make but one;*' but now, I find, a false construction has been put on my letter, and his jealousy supersedes every nobler sentiment." There is a letter from Jones to Nassau on the 14th, among his *Vindiciæ* annexed to the Journal, which is certainly written in a most conciliatory spirit. Referring to several minor arrangements for the squadron, he leaves them altogether to the prince's discretion. He anxiously inquires what cause he had given for offence? It is undoubtedly to be found in the difference of opinion as to the position of the squadron, and in the very phrase which Jones says he intended for a compliment. He says to him: "You appeared contented with my letter. The least word from you would have made me suppress it. I should prefer to have kept silence; and on other occasions I shall know how to do so." In a note, he says: "I have been well duped by it." In Mr. Littlepage's reply to Jones' letter of the 11th, he says, that he was not unadvised of the misunderstanding between the two commanders, previous to the affair of the 7th; that Prince Potemkin had supposed it was settled, and was deeply pained to hear it was renewed. "I easily conceive," he says, "the delicacy of your position; and I know that honour can make no sacrifices. But for God's sake, my dear friend be prudent, on your own account and that of your friends. Prince Potemkin has conceived a high esteem for you; but *he loves Nassau*. If ever reciprocal interests dictated unity between two persons, it is between you and the Prince de Nassau; for the present moment, at least. * * * * Nassau has been unfortunate, and *he has more than one reason* for endeavouring to make the best of existing

vance should be made of three verstes nearer the enemy, who had taken post under the batteries of Oczakow. The rear admiral, who could perceive no advantage to the service in such a movement, refused his concurrence, the prince marshal having approved his plan of acting on the defensive,* until the arrival of the land forces, or at least, until the moment when the Turks might afford us an opportunity of attacking them to advantage. Had he agreed, the movement would have been fatal to Russia, as will be seen by what follows.

“By the 16th June, the patience of the capitan pacha was exhausted. He brought from his grand fleet, without Kinbourn, two thousand picked men, to reinforce the body under the walls of Oczakow; and being strengthened still farther by the troops

circumstances. If you find weaknesses in his character, excuse them, and remember that he *was*, and I hope yet is, your friend. Pardon this liberty, &c.” Surely no better advice was ever given, and it was not unattended to at the time. Jones, in a letter written on the 20th, said he considered the advice as a new proof of true friendship; that it was that of a man of sense; and to show he meant to follow it, transmitted a copy of the letter to the prince; the contents of which have been stated. He says: “I have put up with more from Nassau, than, under other circumstances I could have done from any man who was not crazy. I can no more reckon upon his humour than on the wind. One hour he embraces me as his best friend, and the next he is ready to cut my throat.” He then goes into a technical explanation of his reasons for not thinking it expedient to advance three verstes, before the affair of the 7th, and relates subsequent operations, as they will be found in the text of the Journal. New causes of offence had been given at the date of this letter, and it is plain from the beginning, that Jones must have changed his character entirely before he could submit to harmonize with the prince at the expense of his understanding, pride, and fame.

* In a letter of the 8th, to the rear admiral, Potemkin expressly said: “I would desire you could defer your operations, until I may have approached nearer to you, excepting in case the enemy should give you a good opportunity to offer battle, or that the safety of Kinbourn should require it.” If Jones be correct, the prince must have calculated that the first exception would soon occur; for, he says in a note: “the prince never had any intention of passing the Bog, while the Turkish squadron was in the Liman. I do not presume to suggest his reasons.” And in a passage of Mr. Littlepage’s letter which has been quoted from, informing him that unforeseen difficulties in the passage of the river had made a countermarch necessary, he makes this remark: “It was a sham, (*feinte*,) for the prince never intended to cross the Bog while the Turkish squadron was in the Liman. I have this from Brigadier Ribas, and many others in his full confidence.”

of the garrison, he advanced with his whole fleet and flotilla, and with a fair wind, into the Liman, to attack and board us.* The ship, which bore one of the admiral's flags, steered right towards the Wolodimer from the commencement of the movement. When within two verstes of us, or little more, this ship got aground, and all the vessels which accompanied it immediately dropt anchor. It was then about two in the afternoon.

"The rear admiral summoned a council of war to consult on what should be done. He addressed the council, at which were present all the commanders of the squadron and the flotilla, and concluded by telling them, 'that they must make up their minds to conquer or die for their country.'†

"The wind, which was rather fresh, being against us, the only thing proposed by the rear admiral that was found practicable was, to draw up our force in an obtuse angle, by bringing forward, by anchors, the right of the line up to the centre. This movement was completed before midnight. The wind had shifted to N. N. E. and at break of day on the 17th, the rear admiral made signal, and the whole squadron immediately set sail to commence the attack on the Turks.

"The Turks got into confusion the instant this manœuvre was perceived. They raised their anchors or cut their cables

* "The plan of the capitan pacha was to bear down full sail on the vessels of our flotilla, and run them to the bottom by the shock of the encounter of his large ships. He also proposed to burn our squadron by throwing in fire-balls, (*grappins*,) and setting fire to certain trading vessels which he had prepared as fire-ships. He had reason to calculate on success, had he not been thwarted by a circumstance which no man could have foreseen."—*Note by Paul Jones.*

† It seems unnecessary to insert the address made at this council, which is found among the *pièces justificatives*. Three questions as to the manner of attack were proposed; the resolutions upon them are not mentioned. By a statement of the force of the squadron under Jones on that day, it appears it consisted of one frigate carrying 40 guns of different calibres, four carrying 26, two 24, one 20, and one 16, and four vessels carrying in all 66 guns. His own vessel, the Wolodimer, a 70 gun ship, carried only 24 twenty-four pounders and two *licornes*, pieces from which perforated balls were discharged, filled with combustibles. The shallowness of the Liman would not allow of a greater weight of metal.

with the greatest precipitation, and not the shadow of order remained in their fleet. Our squadron advanced in line of battle with an imposing and formidable appearance, so that the Turks knew not how weak it really was. As our flotilla had been very slow in weighing anchor, the rear admiral was obliged to make the squadron halt twice to wait for it. At length, the flotilla being always last, the squadron opened fire on the enemy, of whom the person second in command, who had flown about like a fool, quickly ran his ship on a sand bank on the south of the Liman. There was no longer hope for him; from the moment he grounded he was ours. The enemy still kept flying about, and always in the greatest disorder. The rear admiral ordered his ship (the *Wolodimer*) to be steered to within pistol shot of the vessel of the capitan pacha, but the latter again ran aground upon a sand bank; and a few minutes afterwards the Brigadier Alexiano gave orders in the Russian language, and unknown to the rear admiral, to drop the *Wolodimer's* anchor.* It was pretended that there were but fifteen feet of water a little way in advance of the ship, which was not true. A considerable time before this the squadron had been taken on the right flank by the Turkish flotilla, drawn up on the shallows, near the bank to the east of Oczakow, and commanded by the capitan pacha himself. The flotilla annoyed the squadron considerably, by incessantly throwing in along our line both bombs and balls of great size. Wanting depth of water, our frigates could not advance far enough to dislodge them, and, besides, they found that their guns were too small. The capitan pacha sunk one of our frigates, named the *Little Alexander*, by a bomb, at the side of the *Wolodimer*, and at the very instant Brigadier Alexiano made the anchor be cast. Our flotilla still lagged behind, but it did at last advance. Having passed

* M. Zefaliano, captain of the *Wolodimer* certifies to the facts mentioned in this statement. His declaration, duly attested, is among the documents annexed to the Journal.

through the squadron in the greatest disorder, and without the least appearance of being under command, instead of pursuing the flying Turks, the flotilla swarmed round the Turkish ships which were aground like a hive of bees.

“The rear admiral commanded Brigadier Alexiano to get together some vessels of our flotilla to dislodge the Turkish flotilla. At the same moment the rear admiral advanced in his boat towards the left wing, where the prince of Nassau was with his body of reserve, employed to very little purpose, in surrounding the first Turkish vessel which was aground, leaning on one side, and firing upon it. The rear admiral entreated him to bring or send the reserve to act against the Turkish flotilla upon our right flank, and informed him of the misfortune which had befallen the *Little Alexander*; but M. de Nassau remained quietly behind his batteries, and made no movement to dislodge the flotilla of the enemy.

“The rear admiral then met Brigadier Corsacoff, to whom he gave orders similar to those he had given to M. Alexiano; and these two officers having got together as many vessels of the flotilla as they could collect, assisted our frigates in dislodging and chasing the Turkish flotilla even till under the walls of Oczakow. M. de Corsacoff was a brave and an intelligent man; he did not affect to have done any thing wonderful. Alexiano was a man of limited talent and of questionable courage, but his vanity was excessive. He pretended to have towed a battery to within pistol shot of the enemy's flotilla; but M. Akmatoff, who commanded that battery, declared that neither he nor any one of our people ever were nearer the Turkish flotilla than half cannon shot.

“The Turkish fleet was now distant. The prince of Nassau was told that the Admiral's flag, which had been displayed on the vessel of the capitan pacha, was struck, and he hastily advanced to claim it. The ship of the capitan pacha, like the other, was *à la bande*, that is to say, it leaned much to one side, and consequently could not make use of its guns. As the flag of the capitan pacha fell into the water from the top of the main-mast,

having been struck down by a ball, it is not difficult to discover that the vessel which had fired this ball was in no danger of being touched by case shot. The Zaporavians picked up the flag from the water, and the prince of Nassau, a long while afterwards, had the glory (which he turned to good account) of having snatched it from their hands. The rear admiral might have claimed at least half of this flag, as he had his hands on it at the same moment with the prince of Nassau; but he regarded it as a thing of very little consequence.

“Brandcougles* had been thrown into the two Turkish vessels which were aground, and they were burnt. Was this a good or a bad piece of service? These two vessels were ours, from the circumstance of having run aground, and because their crews had been left by their countrymen under the guns of our squadron. Wherefore did the flotilla interfere with them? ought it not rather to have pursued the flying Turks, who were not yet under the protection of the guns of Oczakow? Our flotilla had received no injury, and had nothing to fear from the shallowness of the water.

“Having first sounded, the rear admiral made the squadron advance another verste, and took post in a right line, barely out of shot of Oczakow, and in line with the last Turkish ship that had been run aground and taken. Fire soon after broke out in this prize, which had been imprudently fired upon with brandcougles. The fleet and flotilla of the Turks now drew up in a line parrallel to ours, and under the walls of Oczakow.

“How imbecile does the human mind become under the influence of sudden panic! The rear admiral, an hour after the affair, advanced in his boat, and took soundings all along the Turkish line, opposite the walls of Oczakow, and within reach of case shot, and not a single gun was fired upon him.

“Previously to taking command of the squadron, the rear

* A note by Paul Jones describes these incendiary missiles as a kind of bomb-shells, perforated with holes, and filled inside with combustible materials. They were fired from a sort of pieces called *Licornes*.

admiral had gone to Kinbourn with the Chevalier Ribas brigadier *du jour*, to the prince marshal, to reconnoitre the position and force of the fleet and flotilla under the capitan pacha, and to examine the entrance of the Liman. They arrived at Kinbourn at the very time that the capitan pacha had detached twenty-one vessels of war from his fleet, and with that force entered the road of Oczakow, the wind not permitting him to enter the Liman, where his flotilla and some transport ships were already stationed. The rear admiral was so struck at finding the tongue of land at Kinbourn without any battery or block fort, that he instantly spoke of it to the commandant, General Suvorof. This tongue of land, from its position, commands the only passage by which large vessels can either enter or come out of the Liman, and the fortress of Kinbourn is far too distant to be able to command this passage. The rear admiral proposed to establish one or more strong batteries upon this stripe of land, and M. de Ribas seconded the proposition. After considerable delay, General Suvorof resolved to establish a block fort with heavy cannon upon this point, and a battery farther within.* But the capitan pacha had already got the twenty-one ships in question into the Liman.

“At 10 o'clock on the night between the 17th and 18th of June, the capitan pacha attempted to carry the remains of his squadron, which had been defeated at eve, out of the Liman; but the block fort and battery fired on his ships, of which nine of the largest were forced aground upon the sand bank which runs out from Oczakow, at the distance of cannon shot from the block fort.

“The block fort and battery fired on the enemy the whole night, and at daybreak General Suvorof sent to us, requesting that we would send vessels to take possession of the ships of

* General Suvorof had the nobleness to say at court, in February, 1789, in a conversation with the Baron and General Elmt, that the plan of establishing this block fort belonged to the rear admiral.—*Note by Jones.*

the enemy which had got aground. The rear admiral wished to send frigates ; but Brigadier Alexiano assured him that he would run great risk of losing them. The current there, he said, ' was like that of a mill-dam, and the bottom was so bad that anchors would not hold.'

"It was, accordingly, resolved to proceed with the flotilla ; and Alexiano, who had his private reasons, set out with the prince of Nassau.* The flotilla went pell-mell, and without any sort of order or plan, upon the nine ships aground, and fired brandcougles into them without mercy. It was in vain the wretched Turks made the sign of the cross, and begged for quarter on their knees ! Above three thousand of them were burnt with their ships. By some chance two of these vessels, the least and the largest, did not take fire ; the one was a cor-

* In a letter to Mr. Littlepage, written on the 20th, Jones says : " Without explaining to me any of his reasons, the prince of Nassau wished to go there, (to the sand bank under Oczakow,) with all the flotilla. I opposed it ; because all the Turkish flotilla was under the cannon of the place, within cannon shot of our right wing, and we ought to have waited till the squadron should be attacked by it. He permitted himself to say many uncivil things ; among others, that *he* was always wanted to protect *my* squadron, with *his* flotilla. As he had often said such things since the affair of the 7th, I told him it was improper for him to say this and for me to hear it. That the squadron was respectable, as, belonging to the empress and having conquered her majesty's enemies. He bragged that *he* had taken the two ships. I told him that I saw nothing extraordinary in that ; because they were aground, and, of course, captured before he came up. He said he would write what I had uttered to Prince Potemkin ; and that *he* knew better than *I* did, how to take ships ! I told him, that without impugning his skill, he was not ignorant that I had proved my ability to take ships, which *were not Turks*. He got out of all control of himself ; and threatened to write against me, to the empress and Prince Potemkin. As for that, I told him, if he was base enough to do it, I defied his malice. He left me three half-galleys, (*æmi-galeres*,) one small battery, and one chaloupe, which I placed under our right wing, and has not spoken to me since. Before this ridiculous dispute, our combination was unnecessary ; otherwise I would have put up with still more, for the good of the service. I feel no rancour against him ; and though he said, in a bitter tone, that I would be rejoiced to see him beaten, he little understood my heart !" In a note, he says : " He pays a poor compliment to himself, who ascribes such sentiments to a man whose honour is known. If I had kept quiet on the 7th June, his business would have been soon transacted."

vette, very indifferently armed, carrying one battery and four pieces between decks. The other was a small brigantine, of French construction, armed with fourteen small guns.

“Neither the prince of Nassau nor Alexiano was to be seen at this time. They were together, and at some distance, during this frightful carnage; and it was afterwards asked of them if they had not, during this time, been at Kinbourn? As the greatest confusion reigned among the vessels of the flotilla, though our loss was not great, there is no doubt that part of it was owing to Russian bullets.

“The army of Prince Potemkin having come up on the 27th June, the prince of Nassau had orders to attack and destroy, or capture, the Turkish flotilla which lay under the walls of Oczakow; and the rear admiral was commanded to give him every assistance that might be useful. In pursuance of these orders, on the 1st of July, at one in the morning, the flotilla advanced. The rear admiral had sent all the chaloupes and barcasses belonging to the squadron to haul out the vessels of the flotilla. The prince marshal had taken the trouble to arrange the plan of attack himself, but his plan was not followed.

“At daybreak, our flotilla having advanced only within cannon shot, opened fire upon the Turkish flotilla, and on the place. The current having carried several of our batteries and double chaloupes rather too far to leeward, the rear admiral had them hauled up by the boats and barcasses of the squadron, and set the example himself with the chaloupe in which he was. The Turks set fire themselves to a little frigate which they had prepared as a fire-ship, and placed at anchor to the N. E. of Fort Hassan Pacha.

“At six in the morning, the rear admiral advanced considerably in front of the flotilla to seize five of the enemy’s galleys which lay within case shot to the east of Fort Hassan. The position of these galleys, between the cross fire of our flotilla on one side, and that of Fort Hassan, the Turkish flotilla, and the citadel of Oczakow on the other, rendered this a very dangerous enterprise. The rear admiral boarded the galley which lay

farthest out, and had it towed out of danger in a short time by Lieutenant Leff Fabrician. He afterwards boarded the galley of the capitan pacha, which lay considerably nearer the fort. From unskillfulness, and excess of zeal, a young officer cut the cable of this galley without waiting the orders of the rear admiral, and before the boats could be got in order to haul it out, the wind drifted the galley towards the shore, and still nearer to the fort. The rear admiral had the galley lightened by throwing many things overboard. After much search for ropes that might stretch to the wreck of the burnt frigate, and get the galley afloat by that means, the plan failed from the ropes not being long enough. The rear admiral was very unwilling to yield to the obstinate opposition of the Turks, who fired upon him from all their bastions and from their flotilla and he despatched Lieutenant Fox to the Wolodimer, to fetch an anchor and cable. This was a certain means of securing his object in spite of the enemy; and in waiting the return of the lieutenant, he left the galley with his people, and assisted again in towing the batteries. Before the return of Lieutenant Fox, he had, however, the mortification to see fire break out in the galley of the capitan pacha. He at first believed that the slaves chained on board had found means to escape, and had set fire to the vessel; but he had afterwards positive proof that Brigadier Alexiano being in a boat at the time with the prince of Nassau, on the outside of the flotilla, and being aware of the intention of the rear admiral, swore that it should not succeed, and sent a Greek canoe to set fire to the galley!* The three other Turkish galleys were at once run down and burnt by brandcougles. There were also a two-masted ship and a large

* The attestation of a Russian officer to this fact is among the *pièces justificatives* appended to the Journal; and the original of that attestation, written in French, and subscribed Bibicroff, officer of the guard, and dated at Kinbourn, the 26th October, 1788, remains among Jones' papers. This officer's certificate makes no mention of Nassau. He simply states, that the Brigadier Alexiano sent a chaloupe to set fire to the galley which the rear admiral was anxious to save.

bomb vessel burnt near Fort Hassan Pacha. This includes all that was taken or destroyed by water, save fifty-two prisoners taken by the rear admiral in the two galleys. The wretched beings who were chained in the galley of the capitan pacha perished there in the flames!

"The prince marshal having made an important diversion on the land side, it is to be regretted that advantage was not taken of this movement to seize the remainder of the enemy's flotilla. But our flotilla never came up within reach of grape shot."

The above extract from the rear admiral's Journal is verified in the following manner: "This extract has been translated by me into the Russian language, and read before the commanders of the ship Wolodimer, Captain of the second rank Zefaliano; of the frigate Scoroi, Captain of the second rank Aboljanin; of the frigate Nicolai, Captain Lieutenant Danilo; of the frigate Taheuroc, Lieutenant Makinin; of the frigate the Little Alexander, Lieutenant Savitzsky; and they have found nothing in them contrary to truth.

"On board the Wolodimer, before Oczakow, the 28th October, 1788.

"PAUL DENITREFFSKY,

"Honorary Counsellor of the College for foreign affairs, and by special orders of her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, Secretary to Rear Admiral and Chevalier Paul Jones."

ADDITION OF THE REAR ADMIRAL TO THE PRECEDING JOURNAL.

"The moment the ships began to withdraw from Oczakow, the prince of Nassau and Brigadier Alexiano hurried straight to the head quarters of the prince marshal, to relate the things which both pretended they had performed. In a few minutes after the flotilla began to retire, the rain fell in torrents, of

which Nassau and Alexiano received their own share before reaching head quarters.

“ Two days afterwards, Brigadier Alexiano returned on board the *Wolodimer*, having caught a malignant fever, of which he died on the 8th July. The prince of Nassau, who had made use of him in caballing against me—God knows wherefore—neither visited him in his sickness, nor assisted at his funeral. At first it was given out, that the service must sustain the loss of every Greek in it, on account of his death ; but I soon experienced the reverse. Not one asked to be dismissed ; they remained under my command with the Russians, and were more contented than before. On the day preceding the death of Alexiano, he had received intelligence of having been promoted two grades ; and that her majesty had bestowed on him a fine estate, and peasants, in White Russia. At the same time the prince of Nassau had received a very valuable estate, with three or four thousand peasants, also in White Russia, and the military order of St. George, of the second class. Her majesty likewise gave him liberty to hoist the flag of vice admiral at the taking of Oczakow, to which event it was apparently believed he would greatly contribute. I received the order of St. Anne * an honour with which I am highly flattered, and with which I could have been perfectly satisfied, had others been recompensed only in the same proportion, and according to the merit of their services. All the officers of the flotilla received a step of promotion and the gratuity of a year’s pay. The greater part of them also obtained the order of St. George, of the last class. Only two of these officers had been bred to the sea ; none of

* I find two letters from Count Segur at St. Petersburg, written to Jones in this month, (July,) of the 14th and 29th, both in a highly complimentary view, of course. He says in the former : “ The empress being absent, I forwarded a copy of the greatest part of your letter to General Momonoff, who had it read to that princess. She is highly satisfied with it, and in two lines from her hand has been pleased to charge me with assurances to you, of the great respect in which she holds your services. General Momonoff begs me to say, that he will endeavour to merit the obliging things you say of him.”

the others had been engaged in navigation. The officers of the squadron under my command were almost wholly marine officers. They had done their duty well when opposed to the enemy ; but they obtained no promotion, no mark of distinction, no pecuniary gratification. My mortification was excessive ; but my officers at this time gave me a very gratifying proof of their attachment. On promising that I would demand justice for them from the prince marshal at the close of the campaign, they stifled their vexation, and made no complaint.

“ It ought to have been mentioned in the proper place, that three days after our success in the Liman, Prince Potemkin arrived at Kinbourn, from whence he came on board the *Wolodimer* to make me a visit. He was accompanied by General Count de Brandisky of Poland, the prince de Repuin, the Prince de Ligne, General de Samoilow, and several other officers. His highness did me the honour to remain to dinner ; and as he knew that an altercation had taken place between the prince of Nassau and myself on the morning of the 18th of June,* he had the goodness to employ the Prince de Ligne, and M. Littlepage, chamberlain to the king of Poland, to persuade the prince of Nassau to make me an apology. I accepted it with sincere pleasure. We embraced in presence of this honourable company, and I believed him as sincere as myself.

“ The prince marshal charged me at this time to make arrangements for raising the cannon, anchors, and other effects

* In Jones' despatch to Potemkin, on the 18th June, he alludes to the dispute between Nassau and himself about despatching all the flotilla to the sand bank, and to the passion into which the former was thrown. This was certainly impolitic. In the same despatch he praised Alexiano's services, at the prince's expense, and recommended him to favour. But he says in a note, he was mistaken, in interesting himself in that ingrate Potemkin could not have been pleased with the continuance of an altercation, of the merits of which he was probably not able to judge ; and as Mr. Littlepage had already warned Jones, “ he loved Nassau.” He also gives credit to Alexiano, and impliedly censures Nassau, in his report to the admiralty, at Cherson, on the same occasion. Potemkin directed him not to write again, directly, to the admiralty.

belonging to the enemy's ships which had been burnt. Without loss of time, I detailed a transport ship with officers and people for this service.

His highness the prince marshal advanced his army, which crossed the Bog and appeared in sight of us on the borders of the Liman, on the 27th June, and on the next day the capitan pacha weighed anchor with his grand fleet, which had constantly remained twenty or thirty verstes beyond Kinbourn, and directed his course towards the entrance of the Danube, carrying three admiral's flags, and followed by all the vessels that had escaped us in the Liman. During the whole time that we were exposed to having a serious affair with the Turks, Brigadier Alexiano had carefully kept a Greek felucca of eighteen oars alongside the Wolodimer. This felucca was better built for sailing than any of the other chaloupes or rowing vessels belonging to the whole squadron, so that he had at all times the means of saving himself in case of any disastrous event. Even the prince of Nassau, since his retreat on the 6th of June, was never seen in any vessel of the flotilla, but always in a chaloupe, which had been built for the especial use of her imperial majesty on her late voyage. For myself, I took no such precautions. I saw that I must conquer or die. For me there was no retreat. The instant that Alexiano saw the troops appear, he despatched his felucca to inform the prince marshal that it was he, in his zeal for the service, who had employed people to save the effects of the burnt prizes. Nothing could be less true. He had not taken the smallest concern in the matter. But this shows the character of the man. Next day I was informed that the transport ship I had employed on this service was already too heavily laden, and made a great deal of water. As the wind was fair for Glauvoca, I gave orders that she should immediately go thither to unload. Some hours after the departure of the transport, Brigadier Alexiano returned from Kinbourn, where he had dined, and said several impertinent things to me on the subject of the transport. He went afterwards to head quarters to complain of me to the prince marshal. In consequence of

this complaint I received a letter from his brigadier *du jour*, *luc* Chevalier Ribas, which, among other things, mentioned that the prince marshal was 'singularly severe and strict in all that related to the orders he gave.' I replied, that I was not afraid of the severity of the prince marshal, as I had done nothing save my duty, in pursuance of his own orders.*

"Next day I paid a visit to Prince de Nassau. I supposed I should be received with open arms, [a reconciliation it will be remembered had lately taken place, as stated in the beginning of this part of the Journal,] but he blew out, (*me fit une scene*,) about the transport, belonging, as he said, to his flotilla. I had told him I had been charged with that necessary business by

* *Pièces Justificatives*. No. 24, is a letter from Jones of this date, (June 27th,) to Prince Potemkin, informing him, among other things, that he had given it in charge to a lieutenant to execute the order referred to in the Journal. No. 27, on the 30th, he informed him of the order to unload at Glauboca. No. 28, is the letter from Ribas, of the same date referred to in the Journal, and containing the offensive intimation. He says: "After the orders he had given on this subject to M. le Brigadier et Chevalier Alexiano, his highness is very sorry that your excellency has directed a change in what he had resolved upon. In such cases, the prince marshal, notwithstanding the goodness of his heart, is severely rigid, (*d'une grand rigueur*,) and I make it a point to inform you of it, sir, that you may be on your guard for the future." No. 29, is Jones' reply on the evening of the same day; in which he says, that as he knew the brigadier's intentions were good, he took his letter in good part; that he had no knowledge of any instructions having been given to Alexiano by the prince, and certainly no desire to meddle with the prizes, the reason of which, he need not inform Ribas was *l'humeur du Prince de Nassau*. He then states in detail what is substantially set forth in the Journal; and mentions that, on the preceding day, there had been a considerable appearance of discontent among the Russian officers, at the constant preference given to the Greeks, and particularly at the charge given to Alexiano's nephew to save the effects of the burnt prizes, when he had, at the same time, command of three frigates which Admiral Jones had stationed beyond Kinbourn. "Too much," he adds, "has been said on a matter so unimportant. If the prince marshal has forgotten the order he gave me, I can recall to him the place and time, and the words he made use of." He subjoins in a note that Potemkin afterwards told Mr. Littlepage, that he had caused Jones to be censured very *mal-a-propos*. He concluded by saying, "I renounce all idea of personal advantage in regard to the prizes. Therefore what I have done was purely and only in the line of duty. I hope to find *more noble means* of advancement. I know but one manner of conducting myself; and as I can never depart from it, fear nothing."

the prince marshal; and that as all the vessels of war and transports belonged to her imperial majesty, and the transport in question was empty when I ordered it to be taken, I could not see that he had the least ground of complaint. He was mad with rage; but as the good of the service did not further require our combined operations, I thought his quarrelling too puerile to concern myself about it.* I took leave of him, beg-

* The writer of the *Life* published in Edinburgh has well remarked, that after this time Jones seems to have abandoned all hope of conciliating Nassau; and by what follows in the *Journal*, it will be seen that the latter gave him no opportunity. A month after this, he gave full vent to his feelings in the following letter addressed to Ribas, and probably intended for the perusal of Potemkin. It is a loose copy of a letter not in the engrossed *Journal*.

“Monsieur le Brigadier,—Having been at Kinbourn this afternoon, to concert operations with the commandant general, I received at my return here a kind of note without date, which purports to be from you, but which I do not recognise as your handwriting. This note adverts to the question of saluting the flag of the vice admiral; but I am not aware if there be an officer of this rank nearer us than St. Petersburg. I respect infinitely the authority and the character of his highness the prince marshal. I love good order, and I am devoted with enthusiasm to the welfare of the empire, but the first duty of a man is to respect his own honour.

“I have no wish to speak of myself, but circumstances demand it. I was living in America, in the bosom of peace and friendship when his excellency, M. de Simolin, did me the honour, unknown to myself, to propose me to her imperial majesty and the prince marshal as commander in chief on the Black Sea. I was too much flattered by the reception of her majesty to stipulate the slightest condition on entering her service. She deigned to receive me. I was to serve only under the command of the prince marshal.

“I imagined myself intended for another command than that which was given me; but I looked on the change as a flattering proof of the confidence of the prince marshal. Never, probably, did any commanding officer commence service under circumstances more painful than mine; but, in spite of the restraints imposed on me by treacherous colleagues, in spite of their unceasing efforts to draw me into error, and their opposition to all my plans for the good of the service, I have extricated myself from the affair by the sacrifice of my own feelings and interests. I was a true philosopher, and the service has not suffered. My firmness and integrity have supported me against their detestable plot for my ruin; yet I have served as the cat's paw to draw the chesnuts from the fire for them.

“I am much flattered by the order of St. Anne granted me for my zealous services; but I should have been ashamed to receive brilliant rewards for empty boasts.

“As I can never bring myself to resolve on having any connexion with a man so detestable as M. de Nassau, I can never acknowledge him for my superior. If he has

ging him to reflect, that I had given him no cause of displeasure. I did not wish to come to a rupture with him ; but, on

received the rank of vice admiral, I will say in the face of the universe that he is unworthy of it. It is now ten years since he wished to serve under my command. I have known him without knowing him. (*connû sans connoître.*) I knew that he was foolish, (*bête,*) but I did not believe, before proving it, that his character was base to the bottom ; the only military merit he possesses is effrontery. The only thing he has done, was (after the affair of the 17th June,) to snatch the flag of the capitan pacha from the hands of the Zaporavians, who had stolen it a long time before he came up. He has never shown either order or intelligence in the flotilla. Every commander of a boat, or other vessel, was his own master, and conducted matters according to his own notions. Hence it happened, that with much good will for the service, they bore down on the 17th and 18th June, on the enemy's vessels aground and heeled, hovered round them like a swarm of bees ; and small as was our loss, it cannot be doubted that a part of it was occasioned by Russian bullets.

"A single galley, in the hands of a good officer, would, in like circumstances, suffice to conquer a ship of the largest size. But we should be just to the commander of the flotilla. He always had the prudence to keep behind his men ; and in critical moments he always had in his mind, and sometimes on his lips, ways and means of retiring beyond the batteries of Stansilaw. He well knew that for me there was no retreat. In the affair between the flotillas, on the 7th of June, there was something like military combination ; but it is not to him this should be attributed. If he had been left to himself, he would have been beaten, at least, as disgracefully as he had been chased by the Turks on the preceding evening. As to the affair of the 17th June, of the merits of which he so greatly boasts, the Turks got into confusion the moment they saw our squadron under sail and advancing to attack them. They had set sail, and the rout was general even before the whole of our flotilla had raised their anchors. The Turkish squadron had made no arrangement for fight, but fled in the greatest disorder and trepidation at the very commencement. I had given orders to advance near the vessel of the capitan pacha, but M. Alexiano thwarted me, and cast anchor without my orders, at the moment when the second Turkish ship (the admiral) was striking.

"The Turkish flotilla was manœuvred with more skill upon the shallows on the right flank of our squadron, from whence they threw bombs, and sunk the small frigate, the *Petit Alexander*. The commander of our flotilla had paid no attention to my requests to send a detachment of the flotilla to dislodge them. The Brigadiers Alexiano and Corsacoff had assembled and brought forward batteries for this purpose, according to my orders, in concert with our frigates on the right wing. The affair of the 18th was the result of the panic of the evening before, and of the batteries which, in concert with you, (*Ribas,*) I had the credit of establishing at the point of Kinbourn. A very small detachment would have been sufficient to have secured the nine vessels under the cannon of our batteries, and out of the reach of those of the enemy. A good officer, who had commanded such an expedition, would have known how to bring in these nine vessels, without having exposed his people pell-mell, as was the case, and

the 1st of July, seeing the day dawn, and that the flotilla was still far too distant to make the necessary attack,* meeting him

without having the folly to destroy ships of which we stood so much in need, by brand-couglés.

"I could not leave my own command to be present at this affair; but I am told that some who were there inquired if M. de Nassau had not been at Kinbourn during the attack.

"After all, we owe our success to favourable circumstances, to the good disposition, and the imposing appearance of our squadron in advancing to the attack on the 17th June; for the enemy had taken flight before the approach of our flotilla, which was tardy in weighing anchor, and got into confusion from the beginning of the movement. It has been seen meanwhile that M. de Nassau, who did nothing, and who had not a single man wounded near him, has been rewarded as if he had performed the most heroic actions. Marshal Saxe said to his troops,—'I am not one of those ———— generals who cry to their soldiers, FALL ON! I say to you,—My soldiers, behold the enemy,—LET US FALL ON.' M. de Nassau has not shown that he is of the opinion of the marshal. Never was bravado more impudent than that of M. de Nassau. To depart from truth costs him nothing. He had the effrontery to deceive the prince marshal (to whom he owes the bread that he eats,) in saying he had burnt six ships of the line and had taken two. These pretended ships of the line were nothing other than the merchant vessels called caravellas. In time of peace they trade between Constantinople and Egypt; in time of war such ships are armed, but always badly. In place of eight, but four entered the Liman. I have made Lieutenant Fox measure the wreck of two carcasses of two of the largest; the one was 135 feet, the other 130 feet English measure, entire length of the decks on which were the principal batteries. Instead of two, there was but one three-masted vessel not burnt. It is true they also spared a small brigantine in the barbarous conflagration of June 18th. So we must regard this brigantine as a ship of the line taken by M. de Nassau. This prize remained aground and has become a total wreck. Humanity recoils, indignant and affrighted at beholding so many wretched creatures perish in the flames, without any necessity. But there are some small marks of the goodness of heart and gratitude which M. de Nassau is pleased to show, to prove himself worthy of the kindnesses he lately received at Constantinople. Now he is with the Russians, where he has found his market, (*trouvé son compte.*) The same motives which induced him to come here, may lead him back to Constantinople."

There is much repetition in this letter, of what is found in the Journal; but it has been inserted entire, because it proves that the same charges, with like circumstantiality and more acrimony were urged at the time, which were afterwards deliberately written down as historical. It does not appear whether Ribas showed the letter to Potemkin or not; but by the middle of October, Potemkin communicated to Jones her majesty's orders for his recall. It is brought in here out of date, because it refers to transactions already known to the reader.

* To take some galleys at anchor under Oczakow, supposed to be weakly manned

in his chaloupe, I asked, 'If he did not think it time to begin the attack?' 'Is it of me you thus inquire?' he replied; 'I have nothing to say to you on the subject.' After a reply so uncivil, and so publicly made, it was impossible I could have any farther intercourse with him.

"On the 18th June, in giving an account to the prince marshal of the fate of the nine vessels run aground in coming out of the Liman, upon the shallows opposite the battery and block fort on the tongue of land of Kinbourn, I took the liberty to propose to him to get the Wolodimer, which had port-holes for 70 pieces of cannon, and the large frigate Alexander, which might have carried 50 pieces, completely armed, that at the first opportunity the squadron of Cherson might join that of Sevastopole; but his highness gave no orders for this purpose till the month of September; and the admiralty was so slow in acting, that the vessels were not equipped by the 18th October, when I was recalled to St. Petersburg by an order from her imperial majesty.

"The fleet of the capitan pacha having sailed on the 28th of June, had a rencounter with that of Sevastopole, which had come out some days before; but the Turkish fleet being much stronger than that of Russia, the latter fled, and had the good fortune to get back to Sevastopole without loss, having no more than six or seven men killed and wounded, which shows that the affair was neither close nor warm.

"After the affair of the 18th of June, the greater part of our flotilla remained several days at anchor between Kinbourn and the block fort on the end of the tongue of land. On the 20th, the wind being strong and from the west, a Turkish brigantine, equipped as a fire-ship put off towards Kinbourn. The enemy set fire to her as they abandoned her, and she was consumed. It is surprising that the Russian seamen and pilots could be so

profoundly ignorant respecting the anchorage, currents, and depth of the Liman, and, above all, at the entrance into the canal, (*Fahz-water*), and in the road between Oczakow and Beresane. At first not a single commander in the flotilla durst venture to cast an anchor.

“Being at Kinbourn on the 28th June, General Suvorof spoke to me of the unpleasant circumstance of not being able to cut off the communication between Oczakow and Beresane. Having sounded myself, I informed him that this was quite as practicable as it was necessary, and I would place the frigates there instantly, if he would only require me to do so. He did not hesitate, and the same day I placed three frigates there. M. Alexiano did all he could to prevent this; and when he saw the frigates set off, prophesied that I need not expect to see them return. He carried his intrigues so far, that the prince marshal wrote me a warning letter on the 29th, and on the 1st July a peremptory order to withdraw them.* During the short time they were there they took two Turkish armed chaloupes and a batteau laden with powder and shot; and cut off the enemy’s communication between Oczakow and Beresane.

“The prince marshal had not been satisfied with the conduct of the flotilla in the affair of attacking Oczakow on the 1st July, which was conducted in a very irregular manner, and at too great a distance. The most advanced charge was that of the battery commanded by M. Akmatoff, who was never less than 500 toises distant from the enemy. On the 10th of July, the prince marshal sent the prince of Nassau to Sevastopole, to learn if the squadron had been much damaged in the rencounter with the Turkish fleet. Immediately after the departure of the prince of Nassau, the prince marshal gave the Chevalier Ribas the command of the flotilla, with orders to go to Kinbourn, to receive on board the troops he destined to make a descent on the island of Beresane. At the same time he order-

* The official letters between Potemkin and Jones, among the *Pièces Justificatives*, show that no blame could have been, or was, attached to him in this matter.

ed me to establish a line of blockade between that island and Oczakow. I stationed five frigates, carrying twelve pounders, in the road for that purpose.

“ On the 14th, I was ordered to inspect the entrance of the Liman. I immediately went to Kinbourn to have an understanding with General Suvorrof and the Brigadier de Ribas. Though the brigadier had been incessantly occupied since the departure of the prince of Nassau in bringing the crews of the flotilla to some sort of order, he had not yet completed this task. So great was the confusion that reigned, that he could not find in any vessel five soldiers belonging to the same company ; and the officers knew not where to look for their men. This retarded the embarkation of the troops destined for the descent till the 16th. The prince marshal was so much displeased with this delay, that on the 17th, he gave orders to land the troops, that they might join his army before Oczakow, and that the flotilla should return into the Liman, as well as the five frigates I had posted for the blockade.

“ From the commencement of the projected expedition against Beresane, M. Ribas had requested me to conduct the flotilla and the descent of the troops. Though a man of much talent, he had not the misplaced conceit of some persons who readily take upon them things far beyond their capacity. I told him, ‘ He well knew I ought to have commanded the flotilla as well as the squadron, from the beginning of the campaign, but that my gratitude for the gracious reception accorded me by her imperial majesty, together with the very delicate state in which I had found affairs, had induced me to sacrifice my feelings, and even greatly to hazard my reputation, for the good of the empire ; that I could never so far humble myself as to request the direction of the flotilla, but if the prince marshal thought proper to propose it to me, I would do my best to make the most of it possible.’

“ On the afternoon of the 17th, the prince marshal fairly proposed to give me the command of the flotilla. His highness informed me his intention was to have Oczakow attacked a

second time. I replied, that I was disposed to execute with zeal whatever he might think proper for the good of the service ; but that to attack with advantage it was necessary to come to close quarters, and to advance in better order than on the 1st July. He was of the same opinion, and requested me to come ashore next day, that we might concert together the plan of attack.

“ I did not fail to comply with the orders of the prince marshal, but his highness spoke no more of the flotilla. I remained to dinner and supper, and afterwards returned on board of my ship. The prince of Nassau having returned some days before from Sevastopole, had intrigued with the Prince de Ligne ; and the prince marshal had restored him to the command of the flotilla.

“ On the 18th June, I had been ordered to despatch the five frigates which had returned into the Liman, to be refitted at Glauboca, *en batterie* for sea service. I sent them off at day-break on the 19th, having taken the greater part of their crews for service in the gun-boats and bomb-vessels which the prince marshal proposed to place under my command. On the 20th, I received twenty-one gun-boats, each carrying a single piece, from eighteen to thirty-two pounders ; and five bomb-vessels, each carrying a mortar, of which four were of three *poods*, and one of five *poods*.* The same day the prince marshal having established his head quarters to the right of his army upon the shores of the Black Sea, (he had hitherto been on the shores of the Liman, on the left wing,) pointed out to me two of the enemy's gun-boats, stationed close by the fort of Hassan Pacha, and the Turkish lines on the side of Beresane. He was persuaded that they would attempt to come out during the night with despatches, and inquired of me if it were not possible to capture them. As his highness appeared to attach great importance to this service, I undertook it.

* A *pood*, or *pound*, is a Russian weight, equal to 36 lbs. English weight.

“ I returned on board the Wolodimer, from whence, at eight in the evening, I set off with five armed chaloupes. I made five gun-boats follow, as a measure of precaution in case the Turks had attempted to make a sortie, as their chaloupes sailed much faster than ours. I found one of the Turkish gun-boats aground, hauled up, and almost dry on the sands adjoining the battery, and on an intrenchment the enemy had cast up on the water’s edge. It was impossible to get it afloat under the terrible fire which we sustained from all the lines and batteries on the shore. The other gun-boat lay just afloat, right against the fort of Hassan Pacha, to the south. Lieutenant Edwards boarded this vessel, and cut her cables ; but having had several of his men wounded, and being deserted by one of the chaloupes, he was obliged to give up the attempt, lest he should be left by the other chaloupe also. During this time I had made some efforts to get the other Turkish boat afloat. I now rowed quickly to the assistance of Mr. Edwards, but the night was dark and he was already out of sight, when I boarded the vessel in which he had been. I had several men wounded around me ; but, in defiance of the enemy, I hauled the vessel out, and stationed it right opposite the head quarters of the prince marshal.

“ On the 21st, at daybreak, I sailed with the Wolodimer, followed by all the vessels of the squadron that yet remained with me, and twenty-five gun-boats and bomb-vessels that had been placed under my command. The object of this movement was again to blockade Oczakow by sea, and to cut off the communication between that place and Beresane. To accomplish this object, I stationed the Wolodimer and the Alexander to blockade the channel at the entrance of the Liman, and I continued the same line of blockade into the road, by placing the smaller vessels there. As the bomb-vessels and gun-boats had not water casks, the prince marshal, who wished to see these craft opposite his head quarters, made wells be dug on shore for the accommodation of the crews ; and on the 24th, ordered my officer *du jour* to have the vessels stationed near the shore. I knew nothing of this change, for I had placed them the previous night

in line, and far enough off to be in safety. On the 25th, the wind was from the south, but blew moderately. After dinner I went to head quarters to make a visit to the prince marshal, and found, to my great astonishment, that half the boats were cast ashore, and the other half in the greatest danger. I set to work instantly, with my chaloupe, to haul off, and bring to anchor all the vessels possible; and by means of anchors and cables, for which I sent to the squadron, we saved them all, except six gun-boats, which went to pieces, and filled with sand. On the 26th, the prince marshal wrote me by his brigadier *du jour*, to inform me that I was at liberty to place the boats I had saved where I pleased. I placed them near the tongue of land of Kinbourn, where they had a sheltered haven, and also wells for the accommodation of the men. They sustained no farther injury during the time they remained under my command. At this time, two chaloupes or small cutters were placed under my orders, of which each carried two licornes, of forty-eight pounds calibre in the fore part, and six falconets on the sides. Shortly afterwards, I got two larger cutters, carrying each two mortars of five poods.

“ On the 31st July, the capitan pacha again made his appearance with his fleet, followed by several vessels which he had not when he went off. His advanced guard, composed of his frigates, bomb-vessels, and small craft, cast anchor near Beresane, whilst his large squadron of ships of the line resumed their old position. The prince marshal ordered me to bring back my small vessels to assist in blocking up the passage at the entrance of the Liman; and the prince of Nassau was ordered to block up the road with his flotilla, and thus cut off the communication of the Turkish small vessels by the shallows to the south of Fort Hassan Pacha.

[Two versions are here given, apparently by accident, of the same circumstance. The latter is presumed to be the most correct, and the former is, therefore, omitted in this translation.]

“ The prince of Nassau hoisted a white flag with a blue cross on one of the galleys, on leaving the Liman ; and that galley having passed under the stern of the Wolodimer on the 1st of August, he pretended that I ought to salute him as vice admiral. 1st, When I hoisted my flag, to avoid the idle vanity of exacting a salute, I did it at night ; and the Prince de Nassau, being only a simple volunteer, did not offer to salute it. 2d, An officer without my orders, coming from Cherson, had saluted the prince without my authority, but they did not give him a single gun in return. 3d, The prince had *not* received the grade of vice admiral in the service of her imperial majesty. 4th, I had no orders from the prince marshal to salute the Prince de Nassau. 5th, The latter had applied, in the last war between France and England, to serve with me, and, assuredly, not as my commander ; for, though he has made a voyage round the world, he does not yet understand the compass. 6th, On saluting an officer of a superior grade, it is necessary to go on board his flag-ship to make a report and receive orders ; and I had in no-wise deserved so grave a punishment as to be put under the orders of the Prince de Nassau. Had the prince marshal been dissatisfied with my conduct on this occasion, he would have mentioned it to me, or issued an order. The prince of Nassau, however, has endeavoured to make it appear, *at court especially*, that his difference with me had no other foundation, than in my not choosing to salute his flag. He lowered it two or three days afterwards. How should he have done so, if he had been vice admiral ?*

“ The capitan pacha† came out from day to day, to sound

* Deeming it improper to garble the Journal, the whole of this logic is inserted. It may be inferred, that Jones was mistaken as to Nassau's representations at court ; and that his dwelling on this point indicates a morbid feeling. But he may have been correct. At all events, he was right in not saluting him ; and Nassau was weak and arrogant in claiming that compliment.

† This old gentleman, for whom Jones always expresses great respect, as will have been observed, was worthy of it from any generous foe. He had returned from

and reconnoitre, in his kirlangitz, which sailed like the wind, and always displayed an admiral's flag. As the block fort and battery on the tongue of land at Kinbourn were only constructed of bags of sand, and were neither protected by ditch nor palisade, I was afraid that the capitan pacha might try to carry them by a sudden descent, which he could have done by landing five hundred men.

"General Suvorof had been dangerously wounded in a sortie made by the garrison of Oczakow, and had come to Kinbourn. I convinced him that the block fort and battery seemed to be menaced, and as he had a greater quantity of chevaux de frize at Kinbourn, than he required, I suggested that he should employ what was superfluous in surrounding the block fort and battery. The general gave orders accordingly, and I ranged all my gun-boats and bomb-vessels hard by the strip of sand between the block fort and the battery. The sand served them as a parapet, so that there was a line of fire continued from the point quite to the battery. The small craft were, besides, always ready to change their position at the first movement of the enemy, and I placed the squadron so advantageously to communicate with the block fort and the battery, without con-

Egypt, where he had been engaged in pacifying the country, distracted by the intrigues of the Beys Ibrahim and Amurath. One of Jones' biographers, who has translated the *Journal* of this campaign, (and his translation has been used, correcting some singular and very ignorant blunders,) has inferred that Jones was three-fourths a Russian before he left St. Petersburg, because he was civil to the empress; and afterwards, that he was half a Turk, because he did honour to the old Turkish admiral's skill and courage. Such stuff is of a piece with Tooke's statement in the *Life* of Catharine II. that in the affair of the 18th June, "Prince Nassau displayed great bravery in this action; but the victory was chiefly owing to the talents of Captain Fanshaw, an English officer, (of course,) with two French officers, Varage and Verdois, and above all, to the Dutch Captain Winter."* Either this person, who pretended to write a history including this campaign, was so culpably ignorant as not to know that Jones commanded the squadron in the Liman, or he still more culpably omitted to mention his name.

* *Life of Catharine II.* Vol. III. p. 333. Am. Ed.

fining their fire, and to keep back the enemy by a cross fire, on their entering the channel of the Liman, that, though we were very weak compared with the Turkish fleet, the capitan pacha never either attempted to make a descent, or to force the passage of the entrance of the Liman.

“ The prince marshal having ordered rear admiral Woynowitch to sail from Sevastopole with the fleet under his command, and that officer having raised obstacles, because his force was not, he conceived, powerful enough to attack that under the command of the capitan pacha, his highness sent me a letter, written by his chief secretary, Brigadier Popoff, on the 19th August, (old style,) proposing that I should go to Sevastopole to take command of the fleet.* It may be remembered that I was brought to Russia to command *all* the naval force in the Black Sea, consequently this proposition did not surprise me. Had the prince marshal ordered me to go, I would have proceeded immediately, but I would not have it appear that I sought to be sent. 1st, My naval signals had not yet been translated into the Russian language, as no attention had been given to my request for a person capable of translating them. 2dly, The naval signals used in that fleet were imperfect and very limited. 3dly, I was acquainted with no one in the fleet, and I was aware that the prince marshal wished that it should come out the very day after my arrival at Sevastopole. 4thly, That fleet had been compelled to fly before that of the capitan pacha, at a time when he had two thousand fewer good seamen. 5thly, The

* By the *Pièces Justificatives*, it appears that on this day Popoff wrote him, that the prince marshal seemed disposed to send Jones to Sevastopole and give him the command of the fleet. “ I should like much to know,” he said, “ what your excellency thinks of it, in order that, in case his highness should *revert to that idea*, I may speak to him more pertinently, of your sentiments on the matter.” On the same day Jones replied, expressing his entire devotion to the service of the empress, and readiness to obey the orders of the prince marshal. There is nothing in his letter to indicate any disinclination for the duty. It is strictly formal and proper, though it seems from what follows in the Journal, that he had objections to undertaking it immediately. It popped out of Potemkin’s head, as it had popped off from it, if we may be allowed a villanous *paranomasia*.

fleet at Sevastopole was as weak as before, but that of the capitan pacha was stronger in craft, and had all the men replaced that had been lost in the affair of the Liman. 6thly, I had just received preparatory orders from the prince marshal to attack Fort Hassan Pacha;* and I hoped to show him the difference between my fashion of attack and that of the 1st of July.† I replied, in answer to his letter, that being entirely devoted to the good of the state, his highness would find me eager to fulfil his orders. It was said, that some days afterwards the prince marshal sent positive orders to Admiral Woynowitch to come out, but that he always found reasons for not dealing farther with the capitan pacha.

“On the 30th August, the Turks took a small lodka, freighted with water melons, belonging to the merchants of Kinbourn. In coming down the Liman the people on board had been foolish enough to pass too close to Oczakow. To ‘*punish the Turks*’ for this, the prince of Nassau, at evening, made his flotilla advance to assault Oczakow! I sent my secretary to head quarters, and in the meanwhile assembled the commanders of divisions of my gun-boats and bomb-vessels, and ordered them to bring forward their divisions, and form in line of battle between the squadron and Oczakow, ready to attack the fort of Hassan Pacha the moment orders should arrive.

“Upon the return of the capitan pacha, M. Littlepage, chamberlain to the king of Poland, being then with the prince marshal, had solicited and obtained leave to command a division of my gun-boats. Night being come on, the chiefs of division wishing to bring forward their boats, found that thirteen of them had already quitted their posts, against the most positive orders to make no movement without their commanders of division. This movement had been occasioned by the rashness of a Greek

* His orders on the 18th, were to advance with his gun-boats and bomb-ketches against this fort, as soon as the land batteries began to play on the fortress of Oczakow. The order is No. 46 of the *Pièces Justificatives*.

† On the 19th, he transmitted a plan for the approbation of the prince. *Pièces Justificatives*, 47.

lieutenant belonging to the division of M. Littlepage. The boat of this lieutenant had fired eight shots against the place, and another six, but none of the rest had fired. As this lieutenant was the most to blame, I deprived him of his command, and sent him to head quarters, which was required by the prince marshal.

“The prince of Nassau, who had very idly wasted a great deal of ammunition, pretended that my boats had prevented him from taking the whole Turkish flotilla !* The Greek lieu-

* Here several letters are referred to, belonging to the *Pièces Justificatives*. No. 50 is dated September 1st, being a letter from Ribas to Jones, informing him that the prince marshal did not know whether the commandants of the divisions which had so foolishly wasted powder in firing at Oczakow at so great a distance, were present at the time ; and that he had simply directed him (Ribas) to suggest that a good police must be preserved in the boats, which it would be less easy to keep up by diminishing the number of divisions. The brigadier adds : “ I have advised Mavro-Maichailo to drink less ; to be more subordinate, and to keep himself quiet.” The postscript states, that “The prince wishes to know why, without orders, these boats have been uselessly employed against the place, wasting a great quantity of ammunition really valuable, and how much of it they expended.” Jones says, in a note : “The prince occasioned this himself, by allowing subalterns to come and talk to him, and encouraging them in opposing their superiors.” No. 51 is a letter of the same date, from the rear admiral to Ribas, in reply, stating what is set forth in the text of the Journal. The Greek lieutenant's name was Clapakis, who, with the sub-lieutenant Sanefsky, were the only officers who directed the foolish firing against Oczakow. The rest of the letter affords details, which show that the rear admiral was blameless ; but which would be here irrelevant. No. 53 is a letter from Mr. Littlepage, to the grand general of Poland, dated on the 3d, he says : “ I am very sorry that I could not find an opportunity last evening of explaining to you the history of the 30th August, which seems to have been very erroneously represented to the prince. What passed was, in a few words, as follows : As soon as we saw that the firing at night of the Prince de Nassau was sustained by the artillery on shore, the rear admiral assembled his commandants of division, to receive the orders and disposition which he expected on the part of the prince. But these orders not arriving, he despatched a chaloupe to the land, and ordered us to go and cause our respective divisions to advance and come to form line at anchor to the north of the Wolodimer. On arriving near the point of Kinkourn, we saw with astonishment that thirteen boats had already left their posts, against the most positive and repeated orders, not to make any movement without their chiefs of division. We caused the gun-boats and chaloupes which remained in the prescribed order to advance, and went thence to seek the others, under the cannon of the place. By midnight we had found all but two, which we were told had made sail to regain the

tenant whom I had disgraced, instead of being punished, was promoted to the command of a double chaloupe, mounting two *aubusiers*, that would throw 96 pounds weight of balls. M.

squadron. None of these boats had fired, though the Turkish bullets had passed through several of them. We returned very late to the *Wolodimer*, when the admiral told us to resume our ancient posts. The firing had nearly ceased on all sides, and the wind having become fresh, we expected every moment the return of the two missing boats, which did not appear until the morning to leeward. Chaloupes were sent to tow them to their place, and as they owned that one had fired six and the other eight shots, the admiral deposed their commanders. The officer, Clapakis, confessing himself most to blame, he pardoned the other, and sent him ashore, where the prince has given him, it is said, the command of a double chaloupe. With all the submission we owe to the prince, this example is pernicious to discipline. But what does honour to the presence of mind of M. the Prince de Nassau, is his having profited by this small circumstance to make a story out of it, and ascribes to it the bad success of his expedition. How? Can fourteen shots, fired almost out of gun-shot distance, have deranged the operations of his line, which was acting, or rather *ought to have* been, against a part of the town absolutely opposite? Truly his prudence is praise-worthy. I remember that in the affair of July 1st, the fire of all his flotilla did not prevent Paul Jones from going in front with his chaloupe, and withdrawing from the flames a Turkish galley, which was struck by several of our bullets while he was towing her.

"For the rest, all this is too contemptible to merit attention. For what has happened, personally disagreeable to myself in this Nassaurian cabal, I have little to say about it. I love and esteem the Prince de Potemkin. If he sees fit that I should retain command, I will endeavour to acquit myself for the best; but I do not wish that the kindness he may be disposed to show to me, should prove in the smallest degree prejudicial to his service. I entreat him to explain himself on this point with frankness. I have nothing to lose or gain here; for I am neither engaged in the war, as a *necessary* man like Paul Jones, nor as a *necessitous* one, like the Prince de Nassau."

It will be seen that M. Littlepage now stood in need of some of his own good advice; or rather that he had found how impossible it was to follow it, from personal experience. On the 15th, we find he had resolved to withdraw from the service. His letter to the rear admiral was as follows: "My dear Sir—The resolution I have taken to depart, and return to Warsaw, is not so precipitate as you appear to think, if you will please to recall to mind my last conversations with you. In a word, I found myself in a situation where I might lose much, without gaining any thing; but I am not so unreasonable as to complain of Prince Potemkin, who expresses regret at my departure, and wishes to retain me. He has spoken to me of his project of sending you to attack the capitan pacha, and had the air of not being contented, though he was singularly struck with my reasons to the contrary. I advised him to limit his operations to the siege of Oczakow, and to employ your force in blocking the Liman. He replied, 'the Liman is sufficiently blocked.' 'In what way?' I asked. 'Do you not

Littlepage gave a particular account of the whole affair in a letter to the grand general of Poland.

“A few days after this, the prince marshal sent rear admiral Mordwinoff on board the *Wolodimer*, to assemble all the captains and master pilots of the squadron, to hold a council on the means of effecting a junction between the squadron of Cherson and the fleet of Sevastopole. It was said that the prince marshal had earnestly entreated this officer to take the affair upon himself, and that he had positively declined it. I can say nothing on this head; I only know that it was a delicate step in relation to me, to send another officer on board my ship to hold a council; and, above all, without having apprised me either by speech or writing. If I had been stickling, I would have put this officer under arrest, as he could show no authority nor precedent for holding a council where I commanded. But as I was influenced by the good of the service above every personal consideration, I received Admiral Mordwinoff most amicably, and after dinner assembled the officers in question, for consultation. Many difficulties presented themselves to their minds against the proposed junction; but as it was known that the prince marshal was determined on the measure, it was agreed that it could not be effected but at Hagdge-bay, upon the coast, between Beresane and the Danube, at the distance of fifty verstes* from the point of Kinbourn. I raised no obstacle. I only observed, that since it was pressingly necessary to beat the advanced

see our batteries?” was the reply. ‘Yes,’ said I, ‘but I also see the distance between them. What effect can you expect from them, in a dark night, with a strong wind, from the sea?’ He bit his nails, and told me he understood the Turks better than I did. So ended our conversation on this topic. As to my own affairs, I can enter into no other explanation, than that I was badly informed on the subject which brought me ashore; but I have made other discoveries. Adieu, my dear admiral, take care of yourself, and be cautious in whom you trust. Remember you have to sustain here a political as well as a military character; and that your part is now rather that of a courtier than a soldier.” Jones says in a note: “I never was made to play that part.”

* A verste is equal to 3500 English feet.

guard of the enemy before we could effect the proposed junction, it was indispensable to station the squadron previously in the road of Oczakow, and to sail from thence with the wind from N. to N.N.W. to avoid being attacked on the way by the grand fleet of the Turks, and to keep it to the leeward till the junction was effected. It was only a few days previously that preparations had been begun to complete the armament of the *Wolodimer* and *Alexander*.

“ During this time her imperial majesty had sent twenty-four swords of massive gold, to head quarters, to be distributed among the officers on account of the battle of the Liman. The prince marshal himself received a gold sword, enriched with diamonds and emeralds ; and the prince of Nassau received one ornamented with a row of diamonds. There were a number of silver medals sent at the same time to be distributed among the soldiers and seamen. The swords had not yet been distributed, but the medals were all given to the men of the flotilla, and not a solitary one to the squadron. It is usual to give subalterns the more merit the more they are exposed to personal danger. The crews of the squadron had often towed the flotilla totally uncovered, and exposed to the fire of the enemy, whilst the people of the flotilla were screened by parapets made of bags of wool, by which the vessels were surrounded.

“ On the 18th September, I received a secret order from the prince marshal to attack the advanced guard of the enemy, anchored under Beresane.* His highness proposed to make the attack with the five frigates which had been sent to Glau-boca to be mounted as batteries ; and these frigates were to be supported by the other vessels of the squadron, excepting the *Wolodimer* and the *Alexander*, the arming of which went on very slowly on account of difficulties on the part of the admiralty. Two of the frigates, the *Scoroi* and the *Boristhenes*, had already rejoined the squadron. Before the equipments of

* The order is No. 55 of the *Pièces Justificatives*.

those frigates were altered, they carried more guns than are ever put, either by the French or English, in to ships of the same kind. The Scoroi, for example, carried 40 guns, and in England they would not have put more than 32 into her. She now carried 16 thirty-six pounders, and 4 licornes, eighteen pounders.

“ They called her ‘a sea-battery.’ The amount of her calibre now, compared with what it was before, had the advantage of 648 pounds over 452; but to gain this they had been obliged to open her port-holes *en echiquier*, because there was not room enough for recoil, to place the guns on each side opposite; and for the same reason they were obliged after all to shift the guns from their places, and make a sort of platform for the purpose on the side of the ship. And so with the others. When it was resolved to mount thirty-sixes on the five frigates, it must be supposed that the fact had not been adverted to, that they had no bullets of that size, and that they would be obliged to use 24 pound shot. To remedy this, recourse was had to means entirely novel. The twenty-four pound bullets were dipped in pitch to make them fill up the bore of the thirty-sixes. The use of these pitched bullets seems dangerous for those who work the guns; for if the smallest particle of the combustible material remains in the piece, it must set fire to the next cartridge; and a single such accident would damp the courage of the most resolute men. But, putting aside all these and many other inconveniences, the only advantage gained by using the twenty-four pound bullets for the thirty-six pound guns on board the Scoroi, would be reduced to the difference between 456, the actual calibre, and 452, the former. By experience it has been ascertained in the French marine, that two shots can be fired from an eighteen pounder for one from a thirty-six, if both pieces are worked with equal convenience. By this account it may be judged, whether the change in the armament of these frigates was a good or bad operation. Without presuming to decide the question, I will only say that, in my opinion, eighteen pounders are the largest and best for frigates. I think that guns of a

larger calibre are worked too slowly, for vessels which have but one battery, and cannot keep up that rolling fire so necessary in attacking Turks.

“The five frigates, of which I have perhaps spoken too much, appeared to me very fit to place behind a stoccado, or bar. But I never would make choice of ships of this kind for the sea service. The first broadside is all that is to be feared from them.

“I replied in writing to the proposition of the prince marshal for attacking the advanced guard of the Turks near Beresane, and afterwards had a plan of attack drawn out for his inspection. He was much pleased with it. As it was necessary to take advantage of a northerly wind to effect the enterprise, I proposed to the prince marshal to place the frigates in the road as soon as they arrived from Glauboca, to preserve, while waiting the attack of the line, a permanent blockade between Oczakow and the enemy outside. His highness said it was not yet time for this, and ordered me to place them in a line with the other vessels of my squadron, so as to make a display in the channel of the Liman.

“In the end of the month, the Turkish fleet set sail in the night, followed by all the vessels that had lain under Beresane; and we saw it at a great distance the next morning. The capitan pacha returned in about thirty-six hours, and resumed the position he had left. The only difference was, that he brought in some additional small vessels, and that he considerably reinforced his advanced guard under Beresane. As our flotilla, which ought to have blockaded the road, and cut off the communication with the small vessels on that side, were only there occasionally, as if by caprice, it was quite natural for the Turks to profit by its absence, and go out and in when they found the way clear.

“The flotilla being to leeward, between my squadron and Kinbourn, on the 8th October, the capitan pacha sent off in the evening three vessels of his advanced guard, which entered Oczakow unmolested, by an open passage. Our flotilla made

no movement. I made an attempt to intercept the enemy's progress with my gun-boats,* which I caused to be hauled to windward by the ships' boats of the squadron. But the wind being high, they could not bring them to attack. Our batteries nearest to Oczakow fired on the three Turkish vessels, but without being able to arrest their progress. It was now dark; and, moreover, the distance between these batteries and the block fort on the side of Kinbourn, being seven verstes, the land batteries never could have prevented either the entrance or exit of small vessels. To command the entrance of the Liman, I think it is requisite to establish a fort, with two batteries, one over the other on the shallows which run out a considerable distance from the point of sand off Kinbourn, towards Beresane, and which would command even the entrance of the road of Oczakow.

“One of the Turkish ships had the folly to cast anchor in the shallows of Fort Hassan Pacha; and at daybreak on the 9th, being within shot of our most advanced land battery, was struck between wind and water, and sunk; the other two vessels got in without difficulty.

“I have already mentioned, that on the 18th of August, I received a preparatory order for attacking the fortress of Hassan Pacha with my bomb-vessels, and the chaloupes armed with licornes and mortars. I expected from day to day an order for action, and had in consequence bestowed much pains in training my men to the necessary evolutions; but the final orders never arrived.

“The prince of Nassau having caballed against my plan of attack, it was set aside; and by a new arrangement, which I was commanded to form with General Muller, commander in

* *Pièces Justificatives*, No. 59, is a letter from Potemkin, demanding why three vessels were allowed to pass unmolested by the fleet. No. 60, is an explanation in reply, by Jones, to the same effect as is stated in the Journal; adding, that without a blockade constantly kept up, the Turks could always, under like circumstances, enter with their small vessels.

chief of artillery, I was destined to assault the intrenchment, and the Turkish batteries on the shore of the road.

“ On the 9th of October, the flotilla advanced from the shores of Kinbourn, and attacked Oczakow ; but this attack was conducted and ended in the very same manner as that of the 30th August, save that a small vessel of the Turkish flotilla was stranded, which lay farther out than any of the others, on the shallows this side of Fort Hassan Pacha.

“ On the 10th of October, I received another preparatory order ; and soon afterwards was ordered to give up all the boats to the flotilla.* Towards evening I went to head quarters to take particular orders in relation to these boats. The prince marshal told me he had the strongest desire to pitch overboard a large piece of artillery placed on the fore-part of the vessel of the Turkish flotilla that stood farthest out, and which had run aground. I imagined at the time that there was no other vessel run aground save the one in the road, which was at the distance of a verste from the fortress of Hassan Pacha ; so I said the thing was quite easy ; for although the Turks should come up in force to defend the vessel, there would always be time to spike the piece of cannon. It was night when I undertook this little enterprise. I did not imagine the prince marshal attached so much importance to it as to wish that I should conduct it in person. I confided it to Lieutenant Edwards, a brave and an intelligent man, whom I wished to reward for past services. 1st, On the 1st of July, he had followed me throughout, and was a long time with me in the galley of the capitan pacha. 2dly, He had followed me on the night of the 20th of July, and had boarded, and cut the cable of the vessel which I took opposite the fortress of Hassan Pacha. 3dly, He had assisted me some days afterwards, when, by orders of the prince marshal, we made trial of bombarding the fort from one of the bomb-vessels ; from

* *Pièces Justificatives*, Nos. 61, 63. The orders are dated on the 9th. The latter directed all the gun-boats to be delivered to the flotilla ; stating that double chaloupes more proper for the sea, would be substituted.

which service we had some difficulty in withdrawing, as the wind which, rising at the moment, kept us for a long while under the fire of the enemy's musketry, which wounded some of our men.

"Mr. Edwards returned before daybreak, without having succeeded. He said there were a great many men in the ship, who fired on him, and that he durst not board her, he was so ill supported. I was so vexed that he had failed, that in my report to the prince marshal, I said, that I would conduct the enterprise myself next night, if that would satisfy him. The prince marshal held me at my word; but it was eleven at night when Mr. Edwards returned with the order. The wind, which was high, was quite against me, as well as a strong tide; and I would have deferred the attempt, if I had not conceived my honour pledged. I was led to hope, that after midnight the wind might fall, and the strength of the tide lessen, if it did not change. The night was very dark, and the rain fell in torrents. I waited till two o'clock, when the moon rose. I had with me five armed canoes, and I calculated on being followed by four *batteaux* Zaporavians, and by one of the armed vessels I had taken from the Turks; but it was impossible to tow them against wind and tide, and I was compelled to go on as I best could, with only my five canoes. I have noticed that our flotilla had run aground a small Turkish vessel in the shallows of the fortress of Hassan Pacha, but I did not perceive this till the 11th, after I had despatched Mr. Edwards to head quarters, because the vessel lay so near the fortress, where the water is of little depth, that it had only sunk a foot or fifteen inches, and consequently appeared as if still afloat. As the prince marshal had only spoken to me of the farthest out of the Turkish flotilla, I began to think he meant to designate the one nearest the fortress, in which idea I was confirmed by Mr. Edwards, at his return from head quarters, telling me he had heard ashore that the vessel run down in the road had been visited, but that nothing had been found there. I rowed for the vessel nearest the fortress which carried, like most of the others alongside, a large

cannon in her bow ; but, after having fatigued my rowers, I was vexed to see daylight appear, whilst I had still more than a verste to go before I could reach the vessel. I returned on board my own ship, to prevent a useless alarm, being persuaded I should succeed next night. Without waiting to receive my report, the prince marshal sent me orders ‘ to abandon the enterprise, for he had intrusted it to other ships.’* There was fine weather on the night between the 12th and 13th, but the ‘ other ships’ did nothing ; and the Turks availed themselves of an open way to bring out all their flotilla, which rejoined the ships of the advanced guard under Beresane.

“Some days afterwards, a colonel of Cossacks boarded the vessel run down in the road, and set fire to it, by leaving in it lighted brandcougles, for which he received public thanks.

“On the 13th, the prince marshal wished to establish a permanent line of blockade in the road, by placing my frigates there, and some other small vessels. He wrote me a letter on this subject, on that day, which contained things that strongly affected me, and to which I replied next day, with perhaps too much freedom and warmth.† This occasioned an inter-

* Such is the phraseology of the laconic order. *Pièces Justificatives*, No. 65.

† The following is the order of Potemkin referred to, being No. 66 of the *Pièces Justificatives*.

“ *Order to Rear Admiral Chevalier Paul Jones.*

“As it is seen that the capitan pacha comes in his kirlangitch from the grand fleet to the smaller vessels, and as before quitting this he may resolve to attempt something, I request your excellency, the capitan pacha having actually a greater number of vessels, to hold yourself in readiness to receive him courageously, and drive him back. I require that this be done without loss of time ; if not, you will be made answerable for every neglect. I have already ordered the flotilla to approach.

“PRINCE POTEMKIN TAURICIEN.

“13th October, 1788.”

To this order Jones has affixed the following note :—“A warrior is always ready, and I had not come there an apprentice.”

The following was the reply of Jones.

change of letters between his highness and myself, which was only terminated on the 18th, by the arrival of admiral Mordwinoff, to take command of the squadron and the flotilla; for the

"Wolodimer, before Oczakow,

October, 14, 1788.

"MONSEIGNEUR,

"I have the honour to transmit to your highness a plan of the position in which I placed the squadron under my command this morning, in conformity to your orders of yesterday. During the time I was charged with the blockade of the road of Oczakow and the passage of the Liman, all communication between the place and the enemy outside was entirely cut off. But when the flotilla of the capitan pacha was on its return, your highness thought that my small vessels were too much exposed in the road, and ordered me to have them brought in to aid me in blocking the passage of the Liman. That passage has been so well blocked hitherto, that the capitan pacha, notwithstanding his great superiority, has never dared to attempt forcing it. But since his arrival, I hold myself in no-wise responsible for the entry and exit of the enemy by the road. [He says in a note: 'The flotilla under the Prince de Nassau's orders was charged with cutting off the communication of the small vessels of the enemy through the road. It had suffered the Turkish flotilla to escape.'] I have always conformed myself immediately, without murmuring, and most exactly, to the commands of your highness; and on occasions when you have deigned to leave any thing to my own discretion, I have been exceedingly flattered, and believe you have had no occasion to repent. At present, in case the capitan pacha does resolve on attempting any thing before his departure, I can give assurance beforehand, that the brave officers and crews I have the honour to command will do their duty 'courageously,' though they have not yet been rewarded for the important services they have already performed for the empire under my eyes. I answer with my honour, to explain myself fairly on this delicate point at the end of the campaign. In the meanwhile, I may merely say, that it is upon the sacred promise I have given them of demanding justice from your highness in their behalf, that they have consented to stifle their grievances and keep silent."

He added, that as he was made responsible for "negligence," his duty demanded that he should reclaim the officers, gunners, and seamen of the twenty gun-boats and bomb-vessels which were no longer under his orders, which were essentially wanted on board the frigates in the road. The soldiers attached to them belonging to the land forces might, he said, be replaced by other troops. Potemkin's order on the same day, was as follows: "As you are at present in want of seamen, and in reference to the *difficulty* represented, that your squadron cannot be kept in its present position, I direct your excellency to re-station it in its first place, until the people on board the gun-boats shall be restored to you." Jones wrote on the next day, in these terms: "On reading over the letter I had the honour to address to your highness, I do not find that I represented the squadron under my orders as being unable to retain its present position. . . meant only to state that the crews of the frigates and some of the other

prince of Nassau had set off for Warsaw some days after his affair of the 9th, with which the prince marshal had been much dissatisfied. I at the same time received orders from her im-

boats with which I have formed the line of blockade, are too weak to make the necessary defence in case of attack. You will perceive this as well as I do, by the particulars subjoined. The wind seems to me too strong to make the boats return this morning. It will be difficult, probably impracticable, for them to double the sand bank, in their route to the north of the channel. I leave it in their discretion to return if they can; but it is *in order to obey*, and not with any reference to my *difficulties*. I do not recollect having yet made any. I will even take the liberty of saying, with submission, that, to make these boats return, will not, in my opinion, have a good effect for us in the mind of the enemy; and if the flotilla goes away every time the wind begins to blow, experience has taught us that the Turks will not fail to profit by the way being open, to make their small vessels pass through the road." The order of this day, (the 15th,) with the comments of Jones, is as follows: "Your excellency finds the present line of your squadron weak for defence; it is, in consequence, useless. [I did not say that.] Besides the number of the crews, which is deficient, cannot conveniently be replaced on board of vessels in that position. [I only asked leave to try it.] I see no difficulties to prevent your occupying the first disposition; it may be done forthwith; and if I believed [I believed so, strongly, myself,] that the movement would produce a bad effect in the mind of the enemy, I would not do it. The position you occupied impedes the fire of our land batteries." [Only of one small battery, most advanced toward Oczakow and newly built.] The next day Jones wrote that he had given the desired orders for the return of the frigates and boats, but a hard gale had prevented it; and repeated that the complement of their crews might be put on board in their existing situation, and that the return would have a bad effect, &c. "Every man who thinks," he said, "is master of his own opinion; and this is mine." He suggested that they might be reinforced by soldiers; in consequence of which an order to that effect was given next day, with peremptory directions for a change in the position of the line. This order concluded with a repetition of the phrase which had already given such offence. "Should the enemy attempt to pass to Oczakow," the prince wrote, "prevent him by every means, and defend yourself *courageously*." The annotation of Jones is: "It will be hard to believe that Prince Potemkin addressed such words to Paul Jones." On the same day, he informed the prince that he had taken soundings in the road of Oczakow in the morning, and thought the line of blockade might be formed in the manner he requested, so as not to impede the fire of the batteries on each side. His next letter is dated on the 18th, and is of some length. He begins by explaining the affair of the Turkish vessel which was aground, and in relation to which he had misapprehended the wishes of the prince. He seems to have suspected that his gallantry had been impeached, and that his non-success in this small matter had been the leading cause of discontent. He had, however, made full and satisfactory explanations before. He proceeded to say: "I now feel that *I was not in my place*. I leave to your highness, as you have a noble heart and magnanimous soul,

perial majesty to go to St. Petersburg to be employed in the North Sea. Sweden had declared war against Russia at the commencement of the campaign, and Admiral Greig, who had

to judge whether I ought not to have been offended at your sudden order of the next morning, (the 12th,) before you had heard any reasons I had to offer. By that order, I was directed 'to abandon the enterprise, because you had intrusted it to other vessels.' Had not that order been given, the Turkish flotilla would not have been able to escape on the night between the 12th and 13th, for I should have been there again. Your highness will judge, how an officer, who fears nothing and had nothing wherewith to reproach himself, must have been affected by your order of the 13th. I was directed to keep myself in readiness to receive the enemy 'courageously, and that without loss of time; for if not,' &c. I was in despair. Having been all heart and soul for the good of the service, and having done all that a man of honour could to inspire a confidence *which I believed I had deserved at your hands*, allow me, my prince, to ask you how it happens, that I have been so unhappy as to have lost your regard? My enemies themselves cannot refuse me their respect. General Comte de Mamontow assured me of your *confidence* in me, giving me the most flattering hope of your friendship; and her imperial majesty told me the most obliging things to the same effect. At all events, your highness has so good a heart, that you will excuse the hastiness of expression which escaped me in my letter of the 14th. I am anxious to continue in the service. It is unnecessary to recite either the promises or the offers which have been made to me. I am disposed to do all that can be asked of a man of honour, in my situation; and if you find in me an acquisition to the imperial marine, it belongs to yourself to fix me in Russia. But as I come hither neither as an adventurer nor a charlatan to repair a broken fortune, I hope in future to experience no humiliation, and soon to find myself in the situation which was promised to me, when I was invited to enter into the marine of the empress. Perhaps I love honours too much; but as to fortune, though my own is not very great, I never bent the knees to that idol. I well know that riches do not insure happiness. I am sure of one thing, if I had the happiness of once enjoying your confidence, it would be for life, for I am not of a character that can change." But the removal of Jones had been determined upon, not to command the fleet in the north, nor probably, merely in consequence of his letter of the 14th, by the imperious Potemkin. On the same 18th day of October, O. S. he received the following order: "According to the special desire of her imperial majesty, your service is fixed in the northern seas; and as this squadron, and the flotilla, are placed by me under the orders of the vice admiral and the Chevalier de Mordwinoff, your excellency may in consequence proceed on the voyage directed; principally, as the squadron in the Liman, on account of the season being so far advanced, cannot now be united with that of Sevastopole."

On the 20th, Jones wrote to Potemkin that he had given up his command pursuant to orders, to Rear Admiral Mordwinoff. "I am much flattered that her majesty yet deigns to interest herself about me; but what I shall for ever regret is, the loss of your regard. I will not say that it is difficult to find more skilful sea-officers than myself;

commanded the Russian fleet, having died, I was assured her majesty had very important views in recalling me. Yet I could not but feel grieved to be deprived of my command when the campaign, so far as regarded maritime operations, was so nearly concluded.

"As soon as the prince of Nassau went off, all the gold swords were distributed to the officers of the flotilla. It is easy to imagine that this arrangement, as well as many others which preceded it, was not calculated to give me pleasure. The capture of the Turkish galley, and the boarding of the galley of the capitan pacha on the 1st of July, were without dispute the most brilliant actions of the campaign of the Liman. The credit of them was most unjustly given to the flotilla, and my officers remained without any reward for the important services which they had rendered in these affairs, beside those of the 18th of June, the 30th of August, and the 9th of October, from which they reaped no advantage. After the gold swords had been distributed, I myself heard several of the officers who got them express their astonishment, not being able to guess for what they had been so highly rewarded.

"It is worthy of notice, that all the large vessels which the flotilla attacked were previously aground. In this case, they might be compared to men with their feet nailed to planks, and

I know well that it is a very possible thing ; but I feel emboldened to say that you will never find a man more susceptible of a faithful attachment or more zealous in the discharge of his duty. I forgive my enemies who are near you for the painful blow aimed at me ; but if there is a just God, it will be difficult for him to do as much. [In a note he says : "When I took leave of the prince at his head quarters some days afterwards, he said to me, 'Don't believe that any one leads me ! No one leads me :'" and getting up and stamping with his foot, he added, '*Not even the empress.*'"] I wish you, my prince, complete success in your military operations, and continued happiness during the rest of your life." On the 25th, he again wrote to Potemkin, stating that when he first received the communication of her majesty's pleasure, fixing his service in the North Sea, he did not reflect that the season was too far advanced for warlike operations before the ensuing year ; and that to show himself deserving the order of St. Anne which he had received from her majesty, he would with pleasure volunteer to execute whatever service the prince might point out for the good of the empire. The reply is stated in the Journal. Popoff's services were again put in requisition.

their hands tied behind their backs. This is the only instance in history of ships aground, and out of the possibility of being recaptured, being attacked and destroyed, with their crews, by combustibles such as the Brandcougles. It may be recollected, that during the whole campaign the flotilla had not taken even one small vessel afloat. Since a very mistaken notion has been formed of the vessels taken in the Liman on the 17th and 18th of June, which have been called 'ships of the line,' it is but right to say that I made Lieutenant Fox measure the hulls of the two largest, and we found that the size of the one was 130, and of the other 135 feet English in total length, in the line of their first battery. Apply this to naval architecture. Yet the prince of Nassau has been rewarded in a brilliant manner for 'having destroyed six, and captured two *ships of the line*.' The only three-masted vessel which escaped burning upon the 18th June, was a caravel of one battery, and four pieces between decks. There escaped also one small brigantine of 14 three pounders. Such were the two *vessels of the line* that were captured, and the latter was wrecked next day by the carelessness of those who had the charge of her. In place of eight *vessels of the line*, the capitan pacha had come into the Liman with only a detachment of caravels, or large merchantmen, frigates, bomb ships, and other smaller craft. Only four of the caravels carried guns between decks. Of this number was the vessel saved. On one of these four vessels was displayed a square flag; but there was the same on the galley and the kirlangitch of the capitan pacha. It has been already said that the grand fleet without Kinbourn displayed three admiral's flags. But by the history of the campaign given by the prince of Nassau, it appears that the capitan pacha had lost his best ship, manned with the picked men of his fleet, and his only flag as grand admiral, while it is well known that at the end of the campaign he went back to Constantinople with all the ships of the line he had at its commencement.

"As I was told that some ill-intentioned persons in the army had said that I had been deprived of my command because the

officers were unwilling to serve under me, I endeavoured to procure testimonials to the contrary, and have seen with regret that the mind is not always free ; and that men sometimes dare not render homage to truth.*

“ The last of the five frigates, called at the time, ‘ sea batteries,’ did not rejoin the squadron until the 19th October, and on the same day, Admiral Mordwinoff placed the line of the blockading vessels in the road, much further out than before, so as to mask the fire of all the guns ashore, on both sides. It was ill-judged, because the land batteries ought always to be able to flank a line of blockade, formed by vessels or floating batteries. On the 20th, the wind being rather fresh from the north, the admiral made a signal at 3 P. M. for all the flotilla to leave the road, and come while it was in their favour to take station near Kinbourn. This movement was entirely unnecessary for the safety of the flotilla ; but the capitan pacha availed himself of it, and got in, on the same night, twenty-four vessels loaded with ammunition for the garrison, and having on board, besides their crews, 2700 men. The flotilla attacked these vessels on the succeeding days ; but the Turks, having taken out their cargoes, hauled them up on the road, under the cannon of their batteries where much harm could not be done to them.

* *Pièces Justificatives*, No. 80, is a full certificate to the effect Jones wished, signed by Captain Afansio Rostopolooff, commander of the St. Anne, before Oczakow, on the 31st October. It is attested by the secretary Dmitreffsky and John Cramp assistant secretary, cornet of a regiment of cuirassiers. They certify that the captain came on board the Wolodimer on the 4th November, and prayed the rear admiral to return the original attestation, in the Russian language ; as he had learned that having given it would do him much injury in the mind of Prince Potemkin, though it contained nothing but *pure truth*. It was accordingly burned in his presence, the French translation being retained. There is also a certificate to the same effect, the Russian original of which is preserved by Lieutenant Mihalopokoff, commandant of one of the vessels, called the Maillet ; which is stated in the French attestation to have been *brulé*, but seems to have been burned only figuratively, like the odd card in some French games ; and another, which was not signed, by any of the commanders, but the attestation of which sets forth that in addition to the two above named, all the others, while avowing to M. Dmitreffsky that for imperative reasons they could not subscribe it, declared, after hearing it read, that they found nothing in it contrary to pure truth.

"Having reflected that the season was too far advanced to render my services necessary in the North Sea before the following year, I wrote to the prince marshal, offering to continue my services till the end of the campaign. I was indebted to him for the order of St. Anne, and I have a heart naturally grateful. He directed his secretary, M. Popoff, to write me, that since I was recalled by the order of the empress, it was necessary I should go.

"I was invited to head quarters to take leave, and to receive a letter from the prince marshal for her imperial majesty. As I was much interested personally, and still more so in relation to my officers, I after dinner spoke freely, and told M. Popoff all that was on my mind. This brigadier repeated what I had said to the prince marshal. He was vexed at first, but afterwards he sent for me to talk with him. Without failing in the respect due to him, I spoke to him freely enough. I told him he had played an unfair game at the opening of the campaign in dividing the command in the Liman in the existing circumstances of the country ; and that, if I had not resolved to sacrifice my own feelings in order to manage the persons he had given me for colleagues, the campaign would have taken a very different turn. He replied, 'agreed ; but it is too late now.' He then said, he would be glad to see me fixed in Russia, and that he was disposed to give me *solid proofs of his esteem*, both now and in future. I showed him the testimonial of the captain of the Wolodimer, and some other papers, to convince him that he had neither done justice to me nor to the squadron. He said the prince of Nassau pretended all was done by himself ; 'but I have never,' said he, 'been deceived in him. I have always known him for what he is.' He proposed that I should go to Tagenroc to equip and command a squadron he was building there ; but, as I had been brought to Russia to take the chief command in the Black Sea, and had received orders from the empress to repair to St. Petersburg, I declined the offer. I only entreated that he would consider the services of my officers, and give them the seniority they had lost by the promotion of

those officers of the flotilla who did not belong to the naval service. Admiral Mordwinoff made the same request, and the prince promised to do them justice.

"Two days afterwards, I received a letter from the prince marshal for the empress, in which he noticed the zeal and anxiety I had ever shown for her service, and to render myself worthy of her favour.*

"On the 4th November, the capitan pacha having withdrawn his advanced guard in the night, set sail in the morning with his whole force, entering first Varna, and afterwards Constantinople, with every ship of the line he had at the opening of the campaign. It is singular that this enterprising commander did not attempt to force the entrance of the Liman; for Admiral Mordwinoff had placed the squadron in so exposed and disadvantageous a situation, that the fire of the land batteries, which should have flanked him without, was entirely covered. But it may be presumed that the Turkish admiral believed he had done enough for the safety of Oczakow by the succours he had thrown into the place.

"On the morning of the 7th, agreeably to a secret order from the prince marshal, the *Zaporavians* landed, to the number of 2000, on the Island of Beresane. The Turkish garrison being only 300 strong, fired a few random shots, and then surrendered at discretion.

"Having given the officers whom I had commanded such testimonials as they merited, I embarked on the morning of the 9th November, in a small open galley for Cherson. I was three days and three nights on the way, and suffered a great deal

* No. 92 of the *Pièces Justificatives*: "MADAM—In sending to the high throne of your imperial majesty, Rear Admiral M. Paul Jones, I take, with submission, the liberty of certifying the eagerness and zeal which he has ever shown for the service of your imperial majesty, and to render himself worthy of the high favour of your imperial majesty.

"From the most faithful subject of your imperial majesty,

"PRINCE POTEMKIN TAURICIEN.

'October 31, 1788.'

from the excessive cold. The day after my arrival, the river was frozen up, and I was taken dangerously ill. My health was not sufficiently re-established to enable me to proceed before the 6th of December. Having arrived at St. Elizabeth, I received intelligence that Oczakow had been taken by storm on the 6th. The garrison was eleven thousand strong, including the three thousand that the capitan pacha had thrown into the place before he sailed. But the cold had become extreme,* and the Russian army being formed in six columns to attack the place at day-dawn, the Turks were completely disconcerted. Judging from the past, they expected no such visit; and, becoming panic struck, suffered their throats to be cut like so many sheep. In the fury of the assault the Russian soldiers spared nothing. I have been assured, that from eighteen to nineteen thousand Turks perished on that day!

“As I wished to delay my arrival at court till that of the prince marshal, I stopped some days at Skloff, where General Soritsch loaded me with civilities. I arrived at St. Petersburg on the 28th December, and was ordered to appear at court on the 31st, when her imperial majesty did me the honour of granting me a private audience. I presented the letter the prince marshal had given me. A few days afterwards, the empress sent me word, through Count de Dmitrigus-Mamonow, that she must wait the arrival of Prince Potemkin before deciding on what she would do for me. In the meanwhile Count Besborodko told me, that a command of greater importance was intended for me than that of the Black Sea.

“On the 1st February, the prince marshal not having yet arrived, I gave in to the vice chancellor, Count d'Osterman, a project for forming an alliance, political and commercial, between Russia and the United States. As the object of this project was reciprocal advantages, and, above all, to encourage the commerce of the Black Sea, and of the settlements on the

* Twenty-six degrees.

Crimea, I had long intended to transmit it to the prince marshal ; and on his arrival at court, about the middle of February, I sent him a copy. Some time afterwards, he took me into his cabinet, and said that my plan contained good ideas ; but that he did not think it expedient to adopt it at this time, as it might still further irritate the English against Russia, and that it was necessary first to make peace with the Turks.

“ I might make many remarks about the fleet and flotilla of Cherson, but shall say but little at present. I have already observed that the Turkish vessels, large and small, have a decided advantage over the Russians, in their movement. The Marshal de Saxe said of land armies, that ‘ the whole secret of their drill, and all that of war, is *dans les jambes*.’ [*Basting the legs*, according to Touchstone.] This expression, apparently obscure, envelops a profound and sensible meaning, and may be applied with still more force to the operations of naval armaments. Let me command a fleet superior in its sailing, and equal in force—to beat the enemy. I learned with regret, that the vessels of war built at Cherson became rotten, in general, at the end of six years. This seems to me more extraordinary, as before the present war, France got excellent timber for building, from the Dnieper for the king’s yards at Toulon. It is said that the admiralty of the Black Sea spends enormous sums yearly. I cannot vouch for the correctness of the statement ; but I know that the fleet does not look like it. In Denmark, where order and economy prevail, persons entitled to credit have informed me, that it costs the State but 5,050,000 rix dollars, per annum, to maintain a fleet of from 25 to 30 ships of the line, with frigates and other small vessels in proportion, and 4000 seamen in regular pay. The ships of war built at Copenhagen, last sixteen years, without requiring any repairs of consequence. My respect for Prince Potemkin, who created the fleet of the Liman, makes me regret that it should have been built on false principles, unable to sustain its enormous artillery, or to manœuvre properly on the Black Sea ; while the Turkish fleet crossed it at its pleasure. The commerce of the Black Sea is an object of great impor-

tance ; but this commerce, so advantageous to Russia, will always be annoyed and often interrupted by the Turks, till Russia has a stronger fleet in the Black Sea to hold a rod over them, and to place the keys of Constantinople in the hands of the empress. Russia having all the requisite materials, in making the necessary arrangements with order and economy, (without speaking of war, to avoid exciting suspicions in powers jealous of her glory,) this deficiency might be supplied in a few years. The means of obtaining good seamen is to create a merchant trade, to form an alliance with the United States, and to have a squadron of evolution on the Black Sea, directed by an admiral and a properly instructed staff.

“ I have always believed that Russia requires a port on the Asiatic side, opposite the Crimea, to protect the fleet from flaws of wind and currents, and to be, as it were, a sentinel post on the Turks. I have thought of Sinople for this purpose, and I spoke of it to the empress and Prince Potemkin ; but, being better informed, I found a more suitable situation, where I am certain such a post could be securely established at small cost, and beard the whole Ottoman empire. This place is a peninsula between Sinople and Constantinople.

“ I must be permitted to conclude my journal with some reflections naturally suggested by matters affecting my personal honour. I have never been able to conjecture the reason which made Prince Potemkin order Admiral Mordwinoff to give up to him the official account of our operations, which I had drawn up in conformity to the orders of the admiralty of the Black Sea, as I was assured he had done, both by Admiral Mordwinoff and his brother-in-law, (his wife's brother.) No more could I guess why Prince Potemkin had given orders that no notice should be taken of my loss of the frigate Alexander, which was run aground in the battle of the 17th June. This information also I had from Admiral Mordwinoff after I had given up to him the command of the squadron. I have been assured, by him, that this frigate was, in consequence, always retained on the list of the marine. When I found that I received no testimony

of the satisfaction of the empress, with my conduct, in this affair, and on other occasions very interesting to the empire, I was compelled to think that she had been ill informed, for her ambition is to be esteemed the most magnanimous and the most generous of all sovereigns. I received a letter from the minister of the United States (to the court of Versailles,) dated Paris, the 23d March, 1789, which began by telling me, that a letter he had received from me, dated at St. Petersburg, the 31st January, *was the only proof my friends had of my existence since I had left Copenhagen.** If I had played the part of a cipher in the campaign of the Liman, it was for the first time. I either deserved to lose my head, or the plans of the operations on the Liman, which had been got up in St. Petersburg during the winter, and which I saw with astonishment in the office of M. Popoff, ought to be burnt. I assert, that they are false even in the most trifling details.

“I have acted a public and distinguished part for fifteen years among an enlightened people, where the press is free, and where the whole conduct of every man is open to discussion, and subject to the judgment of his fellow-citizens. No man can play the hypocrite during so long a period in a career so trying as was mine. It was natural for the prince of Nassau and Brigadier Alexiano to be my enemies, for they both sought only their own advantage; and Prince Potemkin, who knew better, erred in judgment in placing me in competition with them; but how

* In Russia, letters were systematically intercepted. This was part of the policy of the government; and such things have been heard of in that country, even of later date than the reign of Catherine II. When the Archduke Paul was permitted to travel through Europe with the archduchess, he was so well aware of the jealousy of his mother and her government, that he arranged a private correspondence to be forwarded to the Swedish post-offices by couriers. His correspondent was a young aide-de-camp, Bibikoff, who sometimes permitted himself to describe persons about the court without sufficient regard to decorum. Among those honoured with his notice was *One Eye*, as he termed Potemkin. The courier was intercepted at Riga, and Paul's witty correspondent was exiled to Astracan, where he shortly died.—*Note in the Edinburgh Life.*

happened it that I had around Prince Potemkin other enemies as powerful as they were malicious? I ought to have found only friends in Russia, for I have served that empire faithfully and well. The manner in which Prince Potemkin has changed in regard to me, since the commencement of the war, exceeds all imagination. While he supposed, at first, that my services would be an acquisition in directing the maritime operations against the Turks, the Admirals Mordwinoff and Woynowitch entirely lost his confidence as officers; and it is evident, that Woynowitch had not regained it on the 19th of August, when it was proposed that I should go to Sevastopole to take command of the fleet. When I had the misfortune to offend Prince Potemkin by the freedom of my letter of the 14th October, he sent several couriers, which carried entreaties and brought back refusals, begging that Admiral Mordwinoff would take command of the squadron, which the latter only at last accepted on condition of receiving *carte blanche*, and insisting that the prince should not interfere in any arrangements he thought fit to make. I have mentioned that the Dnieper was frozen over the day after my arrival at Cherson. In consequence, the squadron and flotilla were placed in danger, from not having been properly secured, for the season, after the departure of the capitan pacha. I understood that some of the vessels were lost in the Liman, and that the Wolodimer, to save herself, was obliged to risk the passage to Sevastopole without a good part of her ballast. Briefly, in a few days after my departure from Cherson, Admiral Mordwinoff was disgraced and sent from the service, whilst Admiral Woynowitch, who had married the daughter of Alexiano, was placed at the head of the admiralty, with the chief command of the fleet, and the entire confidence of Prince Potemkin.

“It is said, that Russia has no longer need of foreign naval officers. So be it. No one is more desirous than myself that this may be so, for I cannot be jealous of any of them, and I must ever desire the prosperity of a country I have served. I may, however, be allowed to observe, that this opinion is not very old. If it had been believed before the last campaign, why

were my services so anxiously sought after ? It assuredly could not have been in compliment to me, nor in order afterwards to make use of me in promoting certain political designs. I have frequently heard, that, since the war with Sweden, measures have been taken to induce Rear Admiral Kinsbergen to quit Holland, and re-enter the service of Russia. His countrymen allege that he had been offered the rank of vice admiral, the order of Alexander Nevsky, and a fixed revenue of 20,000 roubles a year ; and that he refused all these advantages, as he had lately married a wife with a fortune which enabled him to live in independence in his own country.

“ It is known that the king of Sweden made advantageous offers to Admiral Curtis of the English navy, to induce him to take command of the fleet against Russia ; and that this officer declined them, not wishing to hazard his professional reputation in command of a fleet which was not in so good a condition as that of England.

“ The empress will do me the justice to remember, that when I had the honour of accepting her service, I did not say one word regarding my personal interests. I have a soul too noble for that ; and if my heart had not been enlisted for her majesty, I would never have drawn my sword in her cause. I have now nothing for it but, like Admiral Kinsbergen, to marry a rich wife ; but I have sufficient to support me wherever I choose, and I know enough of the world to be a philosopher.

“ When I arrived at the Black Sea, if reasons much stronger than those which withheld Admiral Curtis had not influenced my mind and heart, which were devoted to the empress, I would never have hoisted my flag on board the *Wolodimer*. I would have refused the poor command offered me, and which was in no respect worthy of me. I have never puffed my own actions, nor given any piece to the press containing a eulogy on myself.

“ I respect the names of Kinsbergen and Curtis ; but the first duty of a gentleman is to respect his own character ; and I believe, without vanity, that the name of Paul Jones is of as much value as theirs. It is thirty years since I first served ;

and I have had for friends and instructors a d'Orvilliers and a Pavillon. Unfortunately Prince Potemkin never gave himself the trouble to know me.

"I had the happiness to be loved by my officers and men, because I treated them justly, and set them a good example before the enemy. After I ceased to command, though the campaign only lasted a few days, the seamen soon found the difference. They said they had lost their father: they were served with mouldy bread, and afterwards with spoiled meal. I have mentioned, that Prince Potemkin had promised, in presence of Admiral Mordwinoff, to advance the officers under my command, and to restore to them the seniority they had lost by the promotion of the officers of the flotilla; but I have learnt with much pain that he has not kept his word, and that in consequence my officers, to the number of fifty, have demanded their dismissal. Not one of them offered to resign while I held command. Admiral Woynowitch having represented to Prince Potemkin that without these officers the fleet was useless, he was compelled to advance them all. I have been told that they were not yet satisfied, as they were not restored to their seniority, and that they proposed to quit the service at the end of the year. I hope justice will be done them, for they are brave men. For myself I have been marked among all the officers that served in the Liman, being the only one who obtained no promotion, though I commanded and was alone responsible! I may be told that I ought to be satisfied with having received the rank of rear admiral on entering the service. I reply, that I could not have been offered an inferior grade. One officer may deserve as much in a day as another in a lifetime, and every officer ought to be advanced according to his merit. I was not favoured in rank on entering the Russian service. I had a full right to claim that which I accepted. A man, only twenty-four years of age, has since been received into the service with the rank of major general. I wish to say nothing against this officer; it is not always years that give skill, much less genius, but he must do a great deal before he has my experience.

“It is painful, for the honour of human nature, to reflect on how many malevolent and deceitful persons surround the great, and particularly crowned heads. I speak from my own unhappy experience. Some persons had the malice to make Prince Potemkin believe that I made unhandsome strictures on his military conduct, and ridiculed his manner of conducting the siege of Oczakow. I have heard much idle talk on this subject, and I am aware that it excited considerable discontent in the army. I was told, during my illness at Cherson, that a thousand of his officers had demanded their dismissal; but I defy any one to say to my face that I ever allowed myself to criticise his operations. I have been strongly attached to him, of which I think I gave proofs during my command, and even after he unjustly superseded me. Witness my letter of the 27th October, at a time when I certainly had reason to complain of his conduct towards me.

“I have been more deeply hurt by those secret machinations against me, as regards the empress. My enemies have had the wickedness to make her believe that I was a *cruel* and *brutal* man; and that I had, during the American war, *even killed my own nephew!*

“It is well known, that, from motives of revenge, the English have invented and propagated a thousand fictions and atrocities to endeavour to blacken the character of the celebrated men who effected the American revolution: a Washington and a Franklin, two of the most illustrious and virtuous men that have ever adorned humanity, have not been spared by these calumniators. Are they now the less respected on this account by their fellow-citizens? On the contrary, they are universally revered, even in Europe, as the fathers of their country, and as examples of all that is great and noble in the human character.

“In civil war, it is not wonderful that opposite factions should mutually endeavour to make it believed that each is in the right; and it is obvious that the party most in the wrong will always be the most calumnious. If there had really been any thing against my character, the English would not have failed to fur-

nish convincing proofs of it ; for, with very slender means, I had been able to give more alarm to their three kingdoms during the war than any other individual had done.

“ I have heard, that, at the period of my entering the Russian service, the English in St. Petersburg cried out against me, and asserted that I had been a contraband trader. All the world knows that men of this description are actuated entirely by avarice ; and every one to whom I have the honour to be known is aware that I am one of the least selfish of mankind. This is known to the whole American people. I have given proofs of it not easily shown, of which I possess very flattering testimonies. In a letter written on the 29th November, 1782, to Congress, by Mr. Morris, then minister of the marine and finance departments, after having made my eulogium with the warmth of a true patriot, who thoroughly knew me, he says, that ‘ I had certainly merited the favour of Congress by services and sacrifices the most signal.’ Men do not change their characters in these respects.

“ If my heart has bled for the Americans, above all, for those shut up as victims in English prisons by an act of Parliament as sanguinary as unjust ; if I have exposed my health and life to the greatest dangers ; if I have sacrificed my personal tranquillity and my domestic happiness, with a portion of my fortune and my blood, to set at liberty these virtuous and innocent men, have I not given proofs sufficiently striking that I have a heart the most sensitive, a soul the most elevated ? I have done more than all this. So far from being *harsh* and *cruel*, nature has given me the mildest disposition. I was formed for *love* and *friendship*, and not to be a seamen or a soldier ; as it is, I have sacrificed my natural inclination.

“ As an officer, I loved good discipline, which I consider indispensable to the success of operations, particularly at sea, where men are so much crowded and brought into such close contact. In the English navy it is known that captains of ships are often tyrants, who order the lash for the poor seamen very frequently, and sometimes, for nothing. In the American navy we have

almost the same regulations ; but I looked on my crew as my children, and I have always found means to manage them without flogging.

“ I never had a nephew, nor any other relation, under my command. Happily these facts are known in America, and they prove how cruel and harsh I am. I have one dear nephew,* who is still too young for service, but who now pursues his studies. Since I came to Russia I have intended him for the imperial marine. Instead of imbruing my hands in his blood, he will be cherished as my son.

“ In short, my conduct has obtained for me the returns most grateful to my heart. I have had the happiness to give universal satisfaction to two great and enlightened nations which I have served. Of this I have received singular proofs. I am the only man in the world that possesses a sword given by the king of France. It is to me a glorious distinction to wear it ; and, above all, to have received it as ‘ a proof of the particular esteem’ of a monarch so august, a monarch who has become the protector of the rights of the human race, and who adds to this glorious title that of a citizen ! I have indelible proofs of the high considerations of the United States ; but what completes my happiness is the esteem and friendship of the most virtuous of men, whose fame will be immortal ; and that a Washington, a Franklin, a D’Estaing, a La Fayette, think the bust of Paul Jones worthy of being placed side by side with their own. It is then certain that this is not the bust of one, &c.†

“ Since I am found too frank and too sincere to make my way at the court of Russia without creating powerful enemies, I have philosophy enough to withdraw into the peaceful bosom of friendship ; but, as I love virtue better than reward, and as my greatest ambition is to preserve, even in the shades of retreat, the precious favour of the empress, I may tell her majesty,

* The late Mr. William Taylor, merchant of the city of New York, son of the rear admiral’s eldest sister, the late Mrs. Taylor of Dumfries.

† He alludes to some calumnies, as foolish as base, not worthy of notice.

that even in the midst of my persecutions, my mind was occupied by plans for the essential advancement of her service, of which I gave some idea to her minister in June last, (1789.) I have not entered into any detail, for there are politicians who before now have robbed me of my military plans. I have other projects in view from which the flag of Russia might derive new lustre, and which would cost but little to her majesty at the outset, and perhaps nothing in the end, if I had the direction; for I would be able to make war support war. We have already done it in America, and our marine has cost the United States nothing. At all events, I have the satisfaction of having done my duty in Russia, and that without any views of self-interest.* It is affirmed, that, in general, strangers who come to Russia are adventurers in search of fortune, not having the means of living in their own country. I cannot say as to this; but I at least hope that the empress will not class me with those.

"Briefly, I am satisfied with myself; and I have the happiness to know, that, though my enemies may not be converted into friends, my name will nevertheless be always respected by worthy men who know me; and it is to me a satisfaction and a signal triumph at the moment of my leaving Russia, that the public, and even the English in St. Petersburg, with whom I had no connexion, have now changed their sentiments in regard to me, give me their esteem, and regret my departure.

"*St. Petersburg, July 29, 1789.*"

CONCLUSION.

"The art of war deserves the exclusive attention of those who are to be engaged in it; and military science is only acquired by dint of study, of reflections, and of combinations. This

* The last of the *Pièces Justificatives* is a certificate from his secretary, Dmitreffsky, that the rear admiral had never received the appointments belonging to his grade, nor money for the expenses of his family, suite, servants, table, &c. nor for those attending his journey, after his recall from the Liman.

study, commenced at an early season, constantly followed up during life, and aided by continued experience, will hardly become familiar in all its parts to him who pursues it. Some occasion will infallibly happen, when pungent regrets for having neglected to obtain instruction, will be felt in all their force, by him, who, being charged with an important operation, is obliged to confess to himself his own incapacity to execute it. The time has gone by for beginning to attend to such study, when he has unfortunately been promoted to a command. Birth, patronage, solicitation, intrigue, sometimes win employment and rank ; but they do not secure success and credit.

“ As the profession of arms is so honourable, and those who hold commands acquire a reputation at once so brilliant and so solid when they discharge their duties worthily ; and as, on the other hand, nothing is so disgraceful as a repulse received in war, through our own fault ; with what ardour should not officers who have any passion for true glory, seek to provide themselves abundantly with all the variety of knowledge, which may, some day, put them in the way of becoming distinguished ?

“ Courage alone, will not lead to renown, as many fondly believe. The road would be too easy. The fate of courage, devoid of the lights which a knowledge of the principles of the art communicates, is, to be ignorant of danger, to confront it, and to perish to no purpose ; often even without the satisfaction, in perishing, of knowing that the manner of its fall was intrepid.

“ It would appear that the study of an art, of which all the details are so interesting, the knowledge of which is connected with an infinite number of facts naturally exciting quick curiosity, the principles of which are scattered through the histories of all nations, must have inspiring attractions for those who desire to rise in their profession as high as they are permitted to hope for, and a taste for it, which cannot but redound to their advantage, by conducting them, through the true path, to the promotion they covet. Such promotion cannot be flattering to men of sense, unless they have the satisfaction of knowing that

they deserved it ; and that consciousness is, of itself, sufficient to console those, whose success calumniators have made it their business to prevent."

Thus ends the rear admiral's own account of what befel him in the course of his engagement in the Russian service. Historical illustrations or speculative comments are not demanded in this volume. The reader will most readily find an off-hand and probably graphic sketch of the prince of Nassau, in the *Memoirs and Recollections of Count Segur*. It tallies well with the idea of his character thrown out by Mr. Littlepage, in his letters, which have been cited. Jones accuses him of a want of courage. Personal timidity seems to have been implied in the charge ; but this was not his weakness. A soldier of fortune, he was encumbered with the pride belonging to birth and title ; and while he sought for the command of fleets, he wanted science and moral energy. It may not be a hyperbole, when Jones says, that though he had sailed round the world, he did not understand the points of the compass. He is stated to have solicited and obtained his recall from his command in the *Liman*, previously to the dismissal of Jones, in consequence of taunts thrown out by Potemkin.

Potemkin's character belongs to history. Various as the portraits are which have been drawn of it, the reader of Jones' own narrative will find in it sufficient cause of provocation, to account for the conduct of that imperious and spoiled commander. He was not accustomed to receiving arguments instead of obedience ; and would rather have lost an important advantage to the empire than tolerated contradiction of his own pleasure. It is a question whether what seemed noble in his character belonged to its elements, or was put on with his greatness, as an extraneous luxury. He closed his life like a changeling, and a drivelling idiot.

In the notes subjoined to the campaign of the *Liman*, the papers annexed by the admiral have alone been cited. It is

necessary to refer back, in point of time, to some portions of his correspondence during this period, and to explain other parts of his narrative more at large.

There are a few letters from the rear admiral to Potemkin, not inserted among the *Pièces Justificatives*, as arranged by himself, and which he did not therefore attach consequence to, as vouchers for the accuracy of his statements. Their substance being stated in the Journal, we shall not introduce them. When Mr. Littlepage left the Liman, the rear admiral despatched letters by him to Mr. Jefferson. He was uncertain, as it appears from them, whether those last addressed by him to the same gentleman, from Copenhagen, had been received. The anxiety he expressed about some of the features of the American Constitution, shows that his thoughts turned to the land of his adoption, and the country which was in fact his own. In one of these letters the following passage occurs. "I pray you to inform me, if you possibly can, what has become of Mrs. T——. I am astonished to have heard nothing from her since I left Paris. I had written to her frequently, before I left Copenhagen. If you cannot hear of, and see her, you will oblige me much by writing a note to Monsieur Dubois, Commissaire du Regiment des Guardes Francais, vis à vis la Rue de Vivienne, Rue neuve des petits Champs, desiring to speak with him. He will wait on you immediately. You must know, that besides my own purse, which was very considerable, I was good natured, or, if you please, foolish enough to borrow for her, four thousand four hundred livres. Now Mr. Dubois knows that transaction, and as she received the money entire from me for the reimbursement, I wish to know if she has acquitted the debt? When that affair is cleared up, I shall be better able to judge of the rest."

This extract is introduced for a twofold reason. In the first place, Jones would not have written to Mr. Jefferson in relation to his transactions with a lady of loose reputation. In the second, it has been previously stated, that no traces of his correspondence with Madame T—— were found after his last

letter from America. This lady, as the editor is informed, is not to be confounded with Madame Tellison, spoken of in some of the biographies of Jones.

In the same letters, he requested that his bust might be forwarded to several persons in America, to whom he had promised it should be transmitted. This bust, according to Baron Grimm, was executed at the request of the Lodge of Nine Sisters, of which Jones was a member. The gentlemen to whom he desired that casts might be forwarded, were, "General St. Clair, and Mr. Ross, of Philadelphia; Mr. John Jay, General Irvine, Mr. Secretary Thompson, and Colonel Wadsworth, of New York; Mr. J. Madison, and Colonel Carrington, of Virginia."

He also requested that four gold medals might be struck for him, from the die ordered by Congress to be executed, in honour of his services. "I must," he said, "present one to the United States, another to the king of France, and I cannot do less than offer one to the empress. As you will keep the dies for me, it is my intention to have some more gold medals struck; therefore I beg you, in the mean time, not to permit the striking of a single silver or copper medal."

In the same letters, dated on the 9th of September, (N. S.) he speaks doubtingly of the manner in which his situation in the Russian service might terminate. Clinging to the glory already gained, and the nobler triumphs already won, he seems to have been more interested about the reception of one of his journals by the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Letters, and the designs of medals executed in wax commemorating his naval victories, than in the progress of the empress's arms. On the latter subject, however, it was not proper for him to speak in these communications.

Jones arrived at St. Petersburg on the 28th December, after being detained at St. Elizabeth by the indisposition which he mentions, and on the day following addressed the Comte de Morminoff, desiring as early an opportunity as possible of presenting Potemkin's letter, of which he was the bearer, to the

empress. This communication is noticed, as it is preserved among his papers. It is written strictly *selon les règles*, and speaks of his eternal gratitude to her majesty, &c. In January following, while writing, with probably no hope, on the promise of the Count Besborodko, that he should have a command of more importance than that of the fleet of the Black Sea, we find him congratulating Mr. Jefferson on the adoption of the American Constitution, and anticipating from it the establishment of a marine force. The castigation of the Algerines was the foremost subject which occupied his mind. "If," he said, "there is still a disposition to send a force against the Algerines, would it not be a good thing to conclude a treaty with this country, and make the war a common cause in the Mediterranean. The Turks and Algerines are together, and acted in conjunction against us before Oczacoff. A treaty might now be concluded, permitting her imperial majesty to enlist seamen in America, and assuring to America after the peace, a free navigation to and from the Black Sea. If you approve of this idea in general, various other things will necessarily be engrafted in the treaty, and I flatter myself I may obtain the command of the force destined to act in conjunction with that of the United States."

Two letters from him to Mr. Jefferson, on this theme, are preserved, and, as has been seen by his journal, he presented at the time to the Vice Chancellor Ostermann a project of a commercial treaty, and had a conversation with Potemkin on the subject.

It was at this time that an infamous conspiracy to ruin his character was got up, and might have been successful, had not the friends of Jones assisted him with earnestness, in exposing the falsehood of the charges attempted to be fastened on him. The nature of these charges, with the history of the persecution raised upon them, will be found in the following letter to Potemkin. Who its authors were can never be known. Both Count Segur and Jones unhesitatingly ascribe it to English officers in the Russian navy, and the English merchants. It was the most natural

supposition, in the absence of all positive proof; but it was a supposition only.

Rear Admiral Paul Jones to Prince Potemkin.

“ St. Petersburg, 13th April, 1789.

‘ MY LORD—Having had the advantage to serve under your orders, and in your sight, I remember, with particular satisfaction, the kind promises and testimonies of your friendship with which you have honoured me. As I have served all my life for honour, I had no other motive for accepting the flattering invitation of her imperial majesty, than a laudable ambition to distinguish myself in the service of a sovereign so magnanimous and illustrious; for I never yet have bent the knee to self-interest, nor drawn my sword for hire. A few days ago I thought myself one of the happiest men in the empire! Your highness had renewed to me your promise of friendship, and the empress had assigned me a command of a nature to occupy the most active and enterprising genius.

“ A bad woman has accused me of violating her daughter! If she had told the truth, I should have candour enough to own it, and would trust my honour, which is a thousand times dearer to me than my life, to the mercy of the empress. I declare, with an assurance becoming a military character, that I am innocent. Till that unhappy moment, I have enjoyed the public esteem, and the affection of all who knew me. Shall it be said that in Russia a wretched woman, who *eloped* from her husband and family in the country, *stole away her daughter*, lives here in a house of bad fame, and leads a debauched and adulterous life, has found credit enough on a simple complaint, unsupported by *any proof*, to affect the honour of a general officer of reputation, who has merited and received the decorations of America, of France, and of this empire?

“ If I had been favoured with the least intimation of a complaint of that nature having found its way to the sovereign, I know too well what belongs to delicacy to have pre-

sented myself in the presence of the empress before my justification.

“ My servant was kept prisoner by the officers of police for several hours, two days successively, and threatened with the knout.

“ After the examination of my people before the police, I sent for and employed Monsieur Crimpin as my advocate. As the mother had addressed herself to him before to plead her cause, she naturally spoke to him without reserve, and he learned from her a number of important facts, among others, that she was counselled and supported by a distinguished man of the court.

“ By the certificate of the father, attested by the pastor of the colony, the daughter is several years older than is expressed in the complaint. And the complaint contains various other points equally false and easy to be refuted. For instance, there is a conversation I am said to have held with the daughter in the Russian language, of which no person ever heard me pronounce two words together : it is unknown to me.

“ I thought that in every country a man accused had a right to employ advocates, and to avail himself of his friends for his justification. Judge, my prince, of my astonishment and distress of mind, when I yesterday was informed that the day before, the governor of the city had sent for my advocate, and forbidden *him*, at his peril, or *any other person*, to meddle with *my cause* !

“ I am innocent before God ! and my conscience knows no reproach. The complaint brought against me is an infamous lie, and there is no circumstance that gives it even an air of probability.

“ I address myself to you with confidence, my prince, and am assured that the friendship you have so kindly promised me will be immediately exerted in my favour ; and that you will not suffer the illustrious sovereign of this great empire to be misled by the false insinuations and secret cabals of my hidden enemies. Your mind will find more true pleasure in pleading the cause of an innocent man whom you honour with your friendship,

than can result from other victories equally glorious with that of Oczakow, which will always rank among the most brilliant of military achievements. If your highness will condescend to question Monsieur Crimpin, (for he dare not now *even speak to me*,) he can tell you many circumstances which will elucidate my innocence. I am, with profound respect, my lord, your highness's devoted and most obedient servant," &c. &c.

The following were the exculpatory documents which Jones was enabled to procure in relation to this matter.

"I certify, that my wife, Fredrica Sophia Koltzwarthen, has left me without any reason; that she has been living in the city with a young man; and that she has clandestinely, and against my will, taken away my daughter Catharine Charlotte, who is now living with her.

"STEPHEN KOLTZWARTHEN.

"Saratowka, 7th April, 1789."

"I certify, that this is the free and voluntary declaration of Stephen Koltzwarthen, and that it is he who has signed it.

"G. BRAUN, *Pastor*.

Saratowka, 7th of April, 1789."

"I certify that my daughter is twelve years of age.

"STEPHEN KOLTZWARTHEN.

Saratowka, 7th April, 1789."

"I certify, that Stephen Koltzwarthen has signed what is above written.

"G. BRAUN, *Pastor*."

"*Declaration of the Pastor Lamp of St. Petersburg.*

"I certify, that the name of Koltzwarthen does not at present appear in the roll of those in the communion of the church, and

that, previous to the day when she came to my house about the affair of her daughter, I had never seen her.

“J. LAMP, *Pastor.*”

Count de Segur, who was certainly a warm and disinterested friend of Jones, has given a narrative of this affair, overwrought in most particulars, egotistical in many, and in some not very material points incorrect, as appears from the statements of Jones himself. Those who have perused the count's reminiscences will be at no loss to account for the colouring given to this particular transaction, as it is the same thrown over many others, by that worthy and self-complacent, and not uninteresting writer. He says:

“The American rear admiral was favourably welcomed at court; often invited to dinner by the empress, and received with distinction into the best society in the city; on a sudden, Catharine commanded him to appear no more in her presence.

“He was informed that he was accused of an infamous crime; of assaulting a young girl of fourteen, of grossly violating her; and that probably, after some preliminary information, he would be tried by the courts of admiralty, in which there were many English officers, who were strongly prejudiced against him.

“As soon as this order was known, every one abandoned the unhappy American; no one spoke to him, people avoided saluting him, and every door was shut against him. All those by whom but yesterday he had been eagerly welcomed, now fled from him as if he had been infected with a plague; besides, no advocate would take charge of his cause, and no public man would consent to listen to him; at last even his servants would not continue in his service; and Paul Jones, whose exploits every one had so recently been ready to proclaim, and whose friendship had been sought after, found himself alone in the midst of an immense population: Petersburg, a great capital, became to him a desert.

“I went to see him; he was moved even to tears by my visit.

I was unwilling,’ he said to me, shaking me by the hand, ‘to

knock at your door, and to expose myself to a fresh affront, which would have been more cutting than all the rest. I have braved death a thousand times, now I wish for it.' His appearance, his arms being laid upon the table, made me suspect some desperate intention.

" 'Resume,' I said to him, 'your composure and your courage. Do you not know that human life, like the sea, has its storms, and that fortune is even more capricious than the winds? If, as I hope, you are innocent, brave this sudden tempest; if, unhappily, you are guilty, confess it to me with unreserved frankness, and I will do every thing I can to snatch you, by a sudden flight, from the danger which threatens you.'

" 'I swear to you upon my honour,' said he, 'that I am innocent, and a victim of the most infamous calumny. This is the truth. Some days since a young girl came to me in the morning, to ask me if I could give her some linen or lace to mend. She then indulged in some rather earnest and indecent allurements. Astonished at so much boldness in one of such few years, I felt compassion for her; I advised her not to enter upon so vile a career, gave her some money, and dismissed her; but she was determined to remain.

" 'Impatient at this resistance, I took her by the hand and led her to the door; but, at the instant when the door was opened, the little profligate tore her sleeves and her neck-kerchief, raised great cries, complained that I had assaulted her, and threw herself into the arms of an old woman, whom she called her mother, and who, certainly, was not brought there by chance. The mother and the daughter raised the house with their cries, went out, and denounced me; and now you know all.'

" 'Very well,' said I, 'but cannot you learn the names of those adventurers?' 'The porter knows them,' he replied. 'Here are their names written down, but I do not know where they live. I was desirous of immediately presenting a memorial about this ridiculous affair, first to the minister, and then to the empress; but I have been interdicted from access to both of them.'

‘Give me the paper,’ I said; ‘resume your accustomed firmness; be comforted; let me undertake it; in a short time we shall meet again.’

“As soon as I had returned home, I directed some sharp and intelligent agents, who were devoted to me, to get information respecting these suspected females, and to find out what was their mode of life. I was not long in learning that the old woman was in the habit of carrying on a vile traffic in young girls, whom she passed off as her daughters.

“When I was furnished with all the documents and attestations for which I had occasion, I hastened to show them to Paul Jones. ‘You have nothing more to fear,’ said I; ‘the wretches are unmasked. It is only necessary to open the eyes of the empress, and let her see how unworthily she has been deceived; but this is not so very easy: truth encounters a multitude of people at the doors of a palace, who are very clever in arresting its progress; and sealed letters are, of all others, those which are intercepted with the greatest art and care. Nevertheless, I know that the empress, who is not ignorant of this, has directed, under very heavy penalties, that no one shall detain on the way any letters which are addressed to her personally, and which may be sent to her by post; therefore, here is a very long letter which I have written to her in your name; nothing of the detail is omitted, although it contains some rough expressions. I am sorry for the empress; but since she heard and gave credit to a calumny, it is but right that she should read the justification with patience. Copy this letter, sign it, and I will take charge of it; I will send some one to put it in the post at the nearest town. Take courage; believe me, your triumph is not doubtful.’

“In fact, the letter was sent and put in the post; the empress received it; and, after having read this memorial, which was fully explanatory, and accompanied by undeniable attestations, she inveighed bitterly against the informers, revoked her rigorous orders, recalled Paul Jones to court, and received him with her usual kindness.

"That brave seaman enjoyed with a becoming pride a reparation which was due to him ; but he trusted very little to the compliments that were unblushingly heaped upon him by the many persons who had fled from him in his disgrace ; and, shortly afterwards, disgusted with a country where the fortune of a man may be exposed to such humiliations, under the pretence of ill health, he asked leave of the empress to retire, which she granted him, as well as an honourable order and a suitable pension.

"He took leave, after having expressed to me his gratitude for the service which I had rendered him ; and his respect for the sovereign, who, although she might be led into an error, knew at least how to make an honourable reparation for a fault and an act of injustice."

Whether the letter which Jones really did address to the empress was framed from the draft presented to him by the count, or was purely original, cannot be known. It certainly was not a copy of that draft, and bears every mark of being his own composition, in matter as well as manner. It was as follows. (The original is in French.)

" *St. Petersburg, May 17, 1789.*

"MADAM—I have never served but for honour, I have never sought but glory, and I believed I was in the way of obtaining both, when I accepted the offers made me on the part of your majesty, of entering into your service. I was in America when M. de Simolin, through Mr. Jefferson, minister of the United States at Paris, caused a proposition to be made* to me, in the

* "*M'a fait proposer*," in the original. The phrase admits very easily of the inference, that the proposition was not communicated to Jones, until he arrived at Paris, in relation to which point, some observations have been made in previous pages. On receiving this communication from Mr. Jefferson, and subsequently conferring with Messrs. Littlepage and Simolin, he would have proceeded to St. Petersburg immediately to be informed of the tenor of the offer, if he had not been intrusted with the application to the court of Denmark. This explanation is given, because needless criticisms have appeared in print, accusing him of a sort of flirtation with proposals, which he had made up his mind from the beginning to accept.

name of your majesty, to take command in chief of the maritime forces in the Black Sea, which were intended to act against the Turks. I sacrificed my dearest interests to accept an invitation so flattering, and I would have reached you instantly if the United States had not intrusted me with a special commission to Denmark. Of this I acquitted myself faithfully and promptly. I passed into Sweden, with a view of reaching Abo; but the entrance of that port, as well as the whole coast of Finland, was locked up by the ice. Under these circumstances, I hearkened only to my zeal, threw myself into a small and frail shallop, undecked, with some inexperienced peasants, whom my entreaties, menaces, and money, associated in my destiny, in a manner unexampled; and after a thousand dangers I arrived at Revel. The distinguished reception which your majesty deigned to grant me, the kindness with which you loaded me, indemnified me for the dangers to which I had exposed myself for your service, and inspired me with the most ardent desire to encounter more. But knowing mankind, and aware that the fate of those persons whom their superiors distinguish and protect is to be ever the objects of jealousy and envy to the worthless, I besought your majesty never to condemn me unheard. You condescended to give me that promise, and I set out with a mind as tranquil as my heart was satisfied.

“ In the ports of the Black Sea I found things in the most critical condition. The most imminent danger threatened us, and our means were feeble. Nevertheless, supported by the love which all your subjects bear to your majesty, by their courage, by the ability and foresight of the chief who led us, and by the Providence which has always favoured the arms of your majesty, we beat your enemies, and your flag was covered with fresh laurels.

“ I would not notice, madam, what I then achieved, if Prince Potemkin had not taken distinguished notice of my services, and given me reiterated thanks, both in speech and writing; and if your majesty, informed by the prince marshal of my conduct in the first affair which took place on the Liman, had not invested

me with the honourable badge of the order of St. Anne. Since that period, though I have been circumscribed by the limits of my instructions, I have committed no professional error ; I have often exposed myself to personal danger, and I have even stooped to sacrifice my personal feelings and interests to my devotion for the good of the service.

“ At the close of the campaign I received orders to return to court, as your majesty intended to employ me in the North Seas, and I brought with me a letter from Prince Potemkin for your majesty, in which he mentioned my zeal and the usefulness of my services. I had the honour to present it, and M. le Comte de Besborodko acquainted me that a command of greater importance than that of the Black Sea, and fitted for the display of the most active and intelligent talent, was intended for me. Such was my situation, when, upon the mere accusation of a crime, the very idea of which wounds my delicacy, I found myself driven from court, deprived of the good opinion of your majesty, and forced to employ the time which I wish to devote to the defence of your empire in cleansing from myself the stains with which calumny had covered me.

“ Condescend to believe, madam, that if I had received the slightest hint that a complaint of such a nature had been made against me, and still more, that it had come to your majesty’s knowledge, I know too well what is owing to delicacy to have ventured to appear before you till I was completely exculpated.

“ Understanding neither the laws, the language, nor the forms of justice of this country, I needed an advocate, and obtained one ; but, whether from terror or intimidation, he stopped short all at once, and durst not undertake my defence, though convinced of the justice of my cause. But truth may always venture to show itself alone and unsupported at the foot of the throne of your majesty. I have not hesitated to labour unaided for my own vindication ; I have collected proofs ; and if such details might appear under the eyes of your majesty, I would present them ; but if your majesty will deign to order some person to examine them, it will be seen by the report which will be made,

that my crime is a fiction, invented by the cupidity of a wretched woman, whose avarice has been countenanced, perhaps incited, by the malice of my numerous enemies. Her husband has himself certified and attested to her infamous conduct. His signature is in my hands, and the pastor, Braun, of the district, has assured me, that if the college of justice will give him an order to this effect, he will obtain an attestation from the country people that the mother of the girl referred to, is known among them as a wretch absolutely unworthy of belief.

“Take a soldier’s word, madam ; believe an officer whom two great nations esteem, and who has been honoured with flattering marks of their approbation, (of which your majesty will soon receive a direct proof from the United States,*) I am innocent ; and if I were guilty, I would not hesitate to make a candid avowal of my fault, and to commit my honour, which is a thousand times dearer to me than my life, to the hands of your majesty.

“If you deign, madam, to give heed to this declaration, proceeding from a heart the most frank and loyal, I venture from your justice to expect that my zeal will not remain longer in shameful and humiliating inaction. It has been useful to your majesty, and may again be so, especially in the Mediterranean, where, with insignificant means, I will undertake to execute most important operations, the plans for which I have meditated long and deeply. But if circumstances, of which I am ignorant, do not admit the possibility of my being employed during the campaign, I hope your majesty will give me permission to return to France or America, granting, as the sole reward of the services I have had the happiness to render, the hope of renewing them at some future day.

“Nothing has been or will be able to change or efface in my heart the deep feelings of devotedness with which your majesty has inspired me.

“To you, madam, I am personally devoted. I would rather

* Referring to a medal ordered to be struck by Congress.

have my head struck off than see those ties broken asunder which bind me to your service. At the feet of your majesty I swear to be ever faithful to you, as well as to the empire, of which you form the happiness, the ornament, and the glory.

"I am, with the most profound respect, madam," &c.

Count Segur is wrong in stating that Jones received either an order or a pension. Neither baubles nor money were doled out to him, and all he did obtain was an honourable leave of absence, at his own cost. The malign influence exerted against him triumphed, from whatever source it may have proceeded. Of what this source was, Jones afterwards received dark and unsatisfactory information, which will be mentioned presently. The order of St. Anne, the only one which he received from Russia, had been previously awarded to him, and was of an inferior grade, not conferred by the empress herself, directly. The empress may have expressed herself in the terms mentioned by Count Segur; but as he dramatized his recollections from memory, the chances are marvellously against her having done so; nor does he state that he was present when she spoke on the subject, or had other authority than an "*on dit*." His diplomatic situation, however, gives such authority to his statements, that they are not to be contradicted without evidence.

The ninety-third *Pièce Justificative* is a certificate of Dmitreffsky, who had served as secretary and interpreter of Jones, dated June 21st, in which he states, that "his excellency had received neither the appointments belonging to his rank, nor money for the expenses of his servants and necessary disbursements in his official capacity, nor any allowance for his table, during the campaign; and that when he received orders to repair to court, previous to being employed in the Black Sea, no allowance or payment was made to him, and he defrayed the expense from his own purse." The date of this certificate shows, that it was procured with a view of making some settlement at the time, with the Russian government. Jones has added himself, that just as he was leaving Copenhagen, Baron Krudiner

brought to him a thousand ducats. "As," he says, "I had resolved to visit St. Petersburg, rather to prove to her imperial majesty the gratitude felt for the good opinion entertained for me, than with an actual view of entering into her service, my delicacy would not tolerate the idea of being paid for my travelling expenses. I refused the money several times; but the baron being unwilling to take it back, I was compelled to take charge of it, being resolved to deliver it to the empress' minister, in case of declining the service offered to me. I used my own money on the journey. Her majesty directed two thousand ducats to be given to me, for my *equipment*. But, as I had to buy every thing for my journey to the department of the Black Sea, and for my table, as commandant, when I arrived there, I had disbursed the whole amount of that sum before the end of the campaign; and when I received her majesty's orders to return to St. Petersburg, to be employed in the North Sea, I was obliged to dispose of the effects I had remaining for a trifling sum. I may boldly say, that I have done nothing from interested motives. It was clearly in my power to have made as advantageous a bargain as the other strangers, whose services Russia has invoked; but my delicacy did not allow it; and I had too much confidence in the magnanimity and goodness of her imperial majesty to deem it necessary; and without saying more of the services I was fortunate enough to render to her, and am still able and willing to render, I will simply add, that I would not re-attempt my passage from Gresselham to Revel, under like circumstances, for a thousand times the sum I received and spent in her service."

He was received at court, in consequence of his own letter, or on the representations of his friends. His letters to Besborodko will show how far he obtained favour. Accustomed to the procrastinations of courts, as he had been, his was not the temper that could endure all the mortifications described by Spencer; nor was the court of Russia one, in which the process of tantalizing courtiers out of favour was so dilatory; yet much

and many of them, the sensitive part of his nature made him undergo :

"To lose good days that might be better spent,
To waste long nights in pensive discontent;
To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow,
To feed on hope, to pine with fear and sorrow;
To have thy prince's grace, yet want her peers';

* * * * *

To fret thy soul with crosses and with cares,
To eat thy heart with comfortless despairs."

"To his Excellency Count Besborodko from Rear Admiral
Paul Jones.

"St. Petersburg, 24th June, 1789. (N. S.)

"SIR—When I had the honour to see your excellency last week, you was pleased to promise, that in two days I would be made acquainted with the ulterior intention of her majesty, whether to give me a command, or a temporary leave of absence.* No doubt important affairs have occasioned this slight delay. You will, I hope, have the goodness to permit me to present myself at your hotel to-morrow afternoon; for if it is thought fit to employ my services, there is no time to lose, seeing the advance of the season.

"The detachment of vessels of which your excellency spoke to me, would certainly be most useful in the operations which I have projected; but, at the same time, I regard the plan mentioned in the private note which I have sent you, as very useful. I would then wish (as circumstances may allow of it),† to combine these plans; and then I think there would be reason to be satisfied with the result.

"I have mentioned to your excellency that I am *the only officer*, who made the campaign of the Liman without being pro-

* *Note by Jones.*—Without seeing Count Besborodko at all, I had on the 7th July, (N. S.) an audience of leave-taking of the empress; and on kissing her hand, her majesty was kind enough to wish me *un bon voyage*.

† The Count Besborodko told me so.

moted,* but I beseech you to believe, that I have not accepted of service in Russia to occasion embarrassment ; and since the empress has given me her esteem and her confidence, I wish for nothing save new opportunities to prove my devotion by fresh services."

I presume the date of the following letter to be according to the new style. In that case, but a decent time was allowed to grant the rear admiral leave of absence.

" St. Petersburg, 14th July, 1789.

" SIR—I presented myself at your hotel the day before yesterday, to take leave, and, at the same time, to entreat of you to expedite my commission, my passport, and the leave of absence which her majesty has thought fit to grant me. Though I have perceived on several former occasions that you have shunned giving me any opportunity to speak with you, I made myself certain that this could not occur at a last interview ; and I confess I was very much surprised to see you go out by another door, and depart without a single expression of ordinary civility addressed to me at the moment of my departure, to console me for all the bitter mortifications I have endured in this empire. Before coming to Russia, I had been connected with several governments, and no minister ever either refused me an audience, or failed to reply to my letters.

" After the eagerness with which my services were sought, and the fair promises that were made me, I had good reason to believe that I would find in Russia every thing pleasant and agreeable. I was confirmed in this belief from the essential services which I had the good fortune to render the empire. I am aware that your excellency is sometimes teased by importunate persons, but as I am a man of delicacy in every thing, I deserve to be distinguished from the crowd.

* Since my return to St. Petersburg, as the Prince of Anhalt has informed me, all the frigates of the department of the Black Sea have been promoted to the rank of ships of the line.

"On the 6th of June, the last time you gave me an opportunity of speaking with you, I gave you a confidential note,* containing the details of a plan by which, without interfering with any other project, and with the utmost economy, great service might be done to Russia. You promised to submit it to the empress; and you yourself proposed to place a detachment of vessels under my command, to serve during the existing campaign in the Black Sea, and afterwards in the Mediterranean. I could not have imagined that these plans were so carelessly to have been thrown aside; and, in place of discussing and arranging them with you, I was very much astonished when his Excellency the Count de Bruce announced to me that the empress had granted me a leave of absence for two years.

"On the 1st of February I gave in, by order of his excellency the Vice Chancellor, Count Ostermann, the plan of a treaty, political and commercial, between Russia and the United States. As the Vice Chancellor spoke to me of going to America about this purpose, and as I shall soon again be connected with my old friends who constitute the present government of the United

* This note is translated as follows in the Edinburgh life:

"June 6, 1789.

"The great object of a Russian fleet in the Mediterranean is to endeavour to cut off the communication between Egypt and the coast of Syria with Constantinople, from whence they procure their corn, rice, coffee, &c. This operation will oblige them to withdraw a very considerable part of their fleet from the Black Sea. To encompass this end, I ask a *carte blanche*, and only, exclusive of small boats, five large vessels, like the East Indiamen which are purchased in London after they have made three voyages, and which carry from forty to fifty guns. They are strong vessels, and good sailers. They are sent from London to Naples under the English flag, under pretext of being engaged in mercantile enterprises. No person can have any thing to say against it. The crew of those vessels being arrived in Italy would engage in the service of Russia. For the rest we would easily find good sailors at Malta and at Naples. I would employ two small French vessels between Malta and Naples, trading to Smyrna, to procure continual news from Constantinople, and of the force and position of the Turkish fleet. There are some very important blows to be made; but in order to succeed, we must not speak of this matter beforehand. We are informed that the want of provisions at Constantinople has occasioned a rebellion, discouraged the people, and caused a great desertion of the troops. It is the policy of the vizier to render himself popular by providing sufficiently for them."

States, I would be extremely happy to learn, through your excellency, the intentions of her imperial majesty in this respect, and to be appointed to forward the alliance which I suggested, by which Russia must gain.

“The United States having concluded a treaty of friendship and commerce with the Emperor of Morocco, are about to propose to the different powers of Europe a war with the other Barbary states, and to form a confederation against these pirates, till they shall be annihilated as maritime powers. It is proposed, that even the event of a war between the contracting parties shall not disturb the confederation. It would be worthy of the august sovereign of this empire to place herself at the head of an alliance so honourable, and of which the consequences must be so useful to Russia. It would give me peculiar satisfaction if your excellency thought fit to appoint me to make known the intentions of the empress to the United States on these two points, and I trust I should be able to acquit myself of so honourable a duty to your contentment.

“I have the honour to be, with sincere attachment and high consideration,” &c. &c.

With this audience of leave, and this gracious compliment of being wished “a good journey” by the empress, Jones bade farewell to the Russian court. In a note to No. 91 of his *Pièces Justificatives*, which is a letter from M. de Simolin to Count Besborodko, dated in April, 1788, he makes some remarks which require notice. This letter was sent to him, accompanied with a letter in the empress’ own hand. He says, “It was not until after I had entered into her service that I found out I should not be the only admiral in the department of the Black Sea. I had not before heard of the rear admirals Mordwinoff and Woimoritsh. I had been invited into the service to command in chief the fleet on the Black Sea, which I believed to be very respectable; but I began to entertain reasonable fears of being exposed to the assaults of envy, jealousy, and malice, when I was told that I should not be even senior admiral in that

department. Her majesty having deigned to speak to me frequently of the fortunate lot which awaited me, more with the kindness of a mother than as a powerful sovereign, was pleased to write to me on the subject of M. Simolin's letter, 'I hope it will efface all doubts from your mind.' All my doubts had been previously effaced by the gracious words I had heard from her lips." It appears from this extract, that though he had reason to anticipate a collision with Nassau, in the joint command, he was totally uninformed of the other rivals in rank with whom he was to come in contact. Of this he had full right to complain. On the 28th July, I find drafts of two letters, in his own hand writing, one of which was addressed to the Count de Saltykoff, aid-de-camp general of her majesty, stating that he had been delayed until that day, by waiting for his passport, and requesting to know when he might have the honour of taking leave of their royal highnesses the grand duke, grand duchess, and all the little princes, &c. The other was addressed to the reverend father in God, Dr. John Sambosky, from which the following is an extract: "I take the liberty to enclose the letter which his imperial highness the grand duke had the goodness to write me, when I was honoured with the order of St. Anne. As the day of the month is omitted in that letter, you will oblige me much by getting it inserted; and if the order was conferred on any other officer the same month, I could wish that my letter might be made the first in date. You would do me an additional favour, if you could procure for me a copy of the *institution* of the order of St. Anne. I could wish to have it in French or English, but this, I fear, would be difficult to be obtained." He mentioned to the prelate that he had written to Count Saltykoff, and requested that he would give directions to his servant, who did not know the count, how to find that nobleman.

His passport, for himself and a single domestic (John Feyerabend, a native of Dantzic,) setting forth his leave of absence for two years, is dated on the same 28th July, (O. S. undoubtedly.) On the 15th August following, (O. S.) being still at St. Petersburg, he wrote to M. Genet, then secretary of the lega-

tion from the court of France, and who proved himself a staunch friend of the chevalier, as follows :

“ When the Count de Bruce sent for me on the 27th June, (N. S.) he told me, on the part of the empress, that her imperial majesty had granted me a leave for two years, with the appointments belonging to my military rank during my absence. The Count de Besborodko wrote me a note the 30th July, (N. S.) informing me that M. Strekalow had received her majesty's orders with respect to my appointments and arrearages. I have not been able to see M. de Strekalow, though I have called frequently at the cabinet. I have only received my appointments from the time of my entry into the service to the 1st of July, at the rate of 1800 roubles a year; and I was told yesterday at the cabinet, that her majesty's ukase mentions nothing but the appointments then due. If I could believe that this was her majesty's intention, I should remain silent; for I certainly did not accept the service her majesty offered me on account of my appointments, or the usual emoluments of my grade. You will oblige me, and confer on me a new favour, by the inquiry you will be so kind as to make in this matter; and you will be pleased to transmit the answer, to the care of my friend, Mr. Jefferson, at Paris.”

Count Segur gave further proofs of his friendship to a man out of credit at court, by the letters with which he furnished him, and by addressing the following communication and request to Count Montmorin.

“ St. Petersburg, 21st July, 1789.

“ The enemies of the Vice Admiral Paul Jones having caused to be circulated reports entirely destitute of foundation, concerning the journey which this general officer is about to undertake, I would wish the enclosed article, the authenticity of which I guarantee, should be inserted in the Gazette of France, and in the other public papers which are submitted to the inspection of your department. This article will undeceive those who

have believed the calumny, and will prove to the friends and to the compatriots of the vice admiral, that he has sustained the reputation acquired by his bravery and his talents during the last war ; that the empress desires to retain him in her service ; and that if he absents himself at this moment, it is with his own free will, and for particular reasons, which cannot leave any stain on his honour.

“ The glorious marks of the satisfaction and bounty of the king towards M. Paul Jones, his attachment to France, which he has served so usefully in the common cause, his rights as a subject, and as an admiral of the United States, the protection of the ministers of the king, and my personal friendship for this distinguished officer, with whom I made a campaign in America, are so many reasons which appear to me to justify the interest which I took in all that concerned him during his stay in Russia.

“ THE COUNT DE SEGUR.”

“ *Article to be inserted in the Public Prints, and particularly in the Gazette of France,*

“ St. Petersburg, 21st July, 1789.

“ The Vice Admiral Paul Jones, being on the point of returning to France, where private affairs require his presence, had the honour to take leave of the empress, the 7th of this month, and to be admitted to kiss the hand of her imperial majesty,* who confided to him the command of her vessels of war stationed on the Liman during the campaign of 1788. As a mark of favour for his conduct during this campaign, the empress has decorated him with the insignia of the order of St. Anne ; and her imperial majesty, satisfied with his services, only grants him permission to absent himself for a limited time, and still preserves for him his emoluments and his rank.”

* “ This general officer, so celebrated by his brilliant actions during the course of the American war, was called, in 1787, to the service of her imperial majesty.”—*Note to the Newspaper Paragraph.*

The letters of introduction to the French functionaries at various courts, given by Count de Segur to Jones, are similar in their import, and the limits of this work compel their exclusion. He says in one of them, speaking of Jones' loss of court favour, "his frankness, probably imprudent, having embroiled him with Potemkin, his enemies availed themselves of his loss of favour to ruin him; and employed for that purpose the most vile artifices. An abandoned woman," &c. The count assumes to himself in these letters, as in his memoirs, the sole merit of having preserved the admiral. "Every person has abandoned him; I alone have upheld and defended him. The country to which he belongs, the order of military merit which he bears, and which he has so nobly acquired, his brilliant reputation, and above all, our long acquaintance, have made it a law to me: my cares have not been in vain; I have caused his innocence to be acknowledged."

M. Genet furnished Jones with a letter to his sister, the celebrated Madame Campan. It was as follows: "The Rear Admiral Paul Jones, who will deliver you this letter, my dear friend, commanded, during the last campaign, the Russian squadron stationed in the Liman. On that occasion the empress decorated him with the badge of the order of St. Anne. He was entitled by his services to more advantageous promotion and a more distinguished reward; but this celebrated sailor, knowing better how to conduct himself in the midst of battles than in courts, has given offence by his frankness to people in power, and among others to the Prince Potemkin. His enemies and rivals have profited by his temporary disgrace, to hasten his ruin. Calumny has aided their wishes. They have given credit to a rumour absolutely false. They have accused him of having abused a girl. The empress excluded him from court and desired to bring him to trial. Every one abandoned him. M. de Segur has defended and sustained him. The country to which he belongs," &c. [M. Genet's letter is thus far, and in the sentence which follows, nearly a copy of that of Count Segur, above quoted from.]

"I believe also, for my own part, that I have been of some service to him. Our efforts have not been fruitless. He has re-appeared at court, and kissed the hand of the sovereign, but is unwilling to remain in a country where he has been treated with injustice. However, he has not given in his resignation. The empress still preserves for him his rank and emoluments, and only grants him permission to absent himself for a limited time.

"I thought it proper to make you acquainted with this detail, in order that you might understand the truth, and contradict any false reports if they should accidentally extend as far as Versailles. It is impossible for me to tell you how happy I have been, in having it in my power to render services to a man whom my father loved and esteemed, and to whom I was personally attached. I have made M. Paul Jones promise to call upon you, to deliver this letter himself, and am convinced it will give you much pleasure. I say nothing of many matters that occupy my attention, or of many reflections which existing circumstances call forth. M. Paul Jones will probably be two or three months on his way to Paris, and all I might mention would have become stale before you received the letter."

It appears from a subsequent letter of M. Genet to Jones, informing him that he had made a remittance in his favour, that he took charge of his pecuniary affairs at St. Petersburg.

From a letter subsequently written by Jones to the Chevalier Bourgoing, French minister at Hamburg, it appears that when he left St. Petersburg, his intention was to have revisited Copenhagen. "I meant," he says, "on my way, to have availed myself of the occasion of seeing the late grand review of the Prussian army. My friend, the Count de Segur, favoured me in consequence, with letters for your excellency and for the Count d'Esterns, whereof you will find a copy in the enclosed packet for the Baron de la Houze, which I leave under a flying seal for your perusal, and beg you to forward to him. On my arrival at Warsaw, my friends advised me not to appear at the courts of Berlin or Copenhagen, under the present political cir-

cumstances. As it was known that I had left Russia dissatisfied, I thought it best to give my enemies there no handle against me. (They had insinuated that I would accept a command in the Swedish navy.*) So I remained in Poland two months, and was treated with the greatest hospitality and politeness by the king and people of fashion. From the present troubles in Brabant, the necessity of supporting Sweden through the contest she has been led to engage in, and other circumstances, I need not observe to a man of your information and judgment, that I fear there will be no peace this winter; and that the Baltic will witness *warmer* work than it has yet done."

The nature of his reception at the court of Warsaw, is sufficiently indicated in the foregoing epistle. His first occupation on arriving in that capital, appears to have been to prepare a journal of his American campaigns, and a sketch of that of the Liman, for the perusal of the empress, on a hint she had dropped, probably at a former period. His letter to her was as follows :

* This was certainly a base calumny. Jones at this time chose to consider himself, whatever the empress' intention may have been, as absent from the service by permission; and would not have accepted a commission from the enemy of Russia. The following document is attached to some of the loose manuscripts. It has no date, and is in French.

" NOTICE.

"The Rear Admiral Paul Jones, desirous of making known unequivocally his manner of thinking in relation to his military connexion with Russia, declares :

"1st. That he has at all times expressed to her imperial majesty of Russia, his vow to preserve the condition of an American citizen and officer.

"2d. That having been honoured by his most christian majesty with a gold sword, he has made a like vow never to draw it on any occasion where war might be waged against his majesty's interest.

"3d. That circumstances which the rear admiral could not foresee when he wrote on the last occasion, (*ecrivait en dernier lieu*), make him feel a presentiment, that in spite of his attachment and gratitude to her imperial majesty, and notwithstanding the advantageous propositions which may be made to him, he will probably renounce the service of that power, even before the expiration of the leave of absence which he now enjoys."

It does not appear whether this declaration was ever published.

“ Warsaw, 25th September, (O. S.) 1789.

“ Your imperial majesty having done me the honour to cause me to be informed by her secretary, Monsieur de Chrapowitzky, ‘ that she would be pleased to have a copy of my journal (which she had read) of the American war,’ I have added some testimonies of the high and *unanimous* consideration of the United States, and of the private esteem with which I was honoured by several great men *to whom I am perfectly known*, such as M. Malsherbes and the Count d’Estaing, of France, and Mr. Morris, minister of finance and of the American marine. I have the honour to present it to your majesty with profound respect and *confidence*.

“ I owe it to my reputation and to truth, to accompany this journal with an abridgment of that of the campaign of the Liman. If you will deign, madam, to read it with some attention, you will perceive how little I have deserved the mortifications which I have endured, and which the justice and goodness of your majesty can alone make me forget.

“ As I never offended in *word*, or *speech*, or *thought*, against the laws or usages of the strictest delicacy, it would assuredly be most desirable to me to have the happiness of regaining, in spite of the malice of my enemies, the precious esteem of your majesty. I would have taken leave of the court on the 17th July, with a heart much better satisfied, had I been sent to fight the enemies of the empress, instead of occupying myself with my own private affairs.

“ Trusting entirely on the gracious promise that your majesty gave me, ‘ never to condemn me without a hearing,’ and being devoted to you, heart and soul,

“ I am, with profound respect,” &c. &c.

This postscript is added to the above letter : “ I shall have the honour of sending the journal by the courier of Saturday next, with the proofs of every separate article. It will be sealed with my arms, and addressed to your majesty, and sent under a second cover, to the address of M. de Chrapowitzky.”

While at Warsaw, Jones became acquainted with General Kosciusko. On leaving it for Vienna, he addressed to him the following note :

“ Warsaw, November 2d, 1789.

“ MY DEAR GENERAL—I intend to set out this day for Vienna, where I shall only stop a few days. I shall then go to Strasburgh, and from thence to Holland, where I expect to arrive before the 1st of December. My address in Holland is under cover to Messieurs Nic. and Jacob Stophorst, Amsterdam.

“ As I shall be in relation with our friends in America, I shall not fail to mention on all occasions the honourable employment and the respect you have attained in your own country, and the great regard you retain for the natives of America, where your character is esteemed, and your name justly beloved for your services.—I am,” &c.

The general's first letter in reply is not found among Jones' papers. The following is inserted *literatim*. The writer was not familiar with the language he employed.

“ Warsaw, 15th February, 1790.

“ MY DEAR SIR—I had the honour to write you the 1st or 3d of Feb. I do not recolect ; but I gave you the information to apply to the minister of Svede at Hague, or at Amsterdam, for the propositions (according to what M. D'Engestrom told me) they both had order to communicate you. I wish with all my heart that could answer your expectation. I am totally ignorant what they are ; but I could see you to fight against the oppression and tyranny. Give me news of every thing.

“ I am, dear Sir,

“ Your most humble, and most

“ obedient servant,

“ T. KOSCIUSKO, G. M.”

“ Write me, if you please, who is minister from America at Paris : I want to know his name.”

In answer to this letter, Jones wrote from Amsterdam in the following month:

“MY DEAR SIR—The letter you did me the honour to write me the 2d February, was delivered to my bankers here, by a man who demanded from them a receipt. I was then at the Hague, and your letter was transmitted to me. On my return here, some days ago, I found another letter from you of the 15th February. This letter had, by the same man, been put into the hands of my bankers. You propose, if I am not mistaken, that I should apply to a gentleman at the Hague, who has something to communicate to me. But a moment’s reflection will convince you, that considerations of what I owe to myself, as well as the delicacy of my situation, do not permit me to take such a step. If that gentleman has any thing to communicate to me, he can either do it by writing, by desiring a personal conference, or by the mediation of a third person. I have shown your letter to my bankers, and they have said this much to the gentleman from whom they received it; but this message, they say, he received with an air of indifference.”

The enigma of this correspondence cannot be solved. It has been conjectured that Kosciusko wished to engage the services of the rear admiral in some project with which his own mind was occupied. Of whatever character they were, they must have been hostile to Russia.

The following note to Mr. Littlepage, equally requires the interpretation of *Œdipus*. It is dated Warsaw, November 2d: “I set out this day for Vienna, where I shall stop only a day or two. From thence I go to Strasburgh, and shall pay a visit to the Duke de Wirtemburgh, at Mont Beliard. I am uncertain about going to Paris, under the present turbulent appearances: I have not received any answer from the quarter you mention, but the C. de S—, who arrived here fourteen days after I had written, told me that a certain memorial had been stopped by the C. de B—, who had written to the Prince de P— to know

if he would permit it to be delivered to the lady to whom it was addressed.* I wish to disbelieve this, for it could not have happened so, in so short a time ; but should it prove true, I could wish for your idea in consequence."

The draft of the following letter from Vienna is among his loose papers. The beginning and conclusion are in French, the "quelque mots pour Mdle. la comtesse" are in English.

"A Madame et Mdle. La Comtesse de Tomatis de Valery a Varsovie.

"Vienna, 23d November, 1789.

"MADAM—I have executed your commission to the best of my ability. On arriving here, I delivered to Mademoiselle Caroline all the articles which you intrusted to me, except the fan which I had forgotten at home, (not having put it in my pocket at the barrier with the other articles, for fear of breaking it,) and which I delivered next day to the *femme-de-chambre*. I went to pay a visit at the convent to-day, but was unable to have the pleasure of seeing Mdle. Caroline, who is slightly indisposed. I saw your two other daughters, who are very pretty, and very interesting. They had given me hopes of having an audience of the emperor ; but I no longer expect it, as he sees no one, and conversation is painful to him. I left the works of Thompson at the convent, and here are some remarks for Mdle. the Countess, who will have the goodness to accept these books as if I had had the honour of presenting them to her on her birth day."

"I have spoken to you several times of the beautiful poems called the Seasons, written by the delicate author, whose works I have deposited with your sister for your acceptance. There is nothing in the English language that surpasses his thoughts, and his happy elegance of expression. In the first and second volumes you will meet with some small parts where the margin

* Besborodko, Potemkin, and the empress, are plainly referred to, and perhaps the memorial spoken of is that which has been inserted previously.

is marked, or the words underlined; though, without that circumstance, the contents could not have escaped your particular observation. Adieu! I pay you no compliment. But I wish you all possible good. One word more, and be not offended. The manuscript I put into your hands, (and which, as I have since found, abounded with faults and inaccuracies,) was never before confided to any other person long enough to have been copied either partially or wholly. I did not request of you to let no extracts be taken from it. If any have been taken, you will be so good as to inform me how many? and the extent of each?"

"I am about" (he resumes in French) "setting out on my way to Holland. I shall ever carry with me the remembrance of your kindness. My address is *under envelope* to Messrs. Nicholas and Jacob Van Stophorst, at Amsterdam. Should you learn any thing which it concerns me to know, you will have the goodness to inform me of it. Present my respects to M. the Count, &c."

In the existing uncertainty as to his future destiny, in which he was now placed, the mind of Jones must have been much disturbed, panting as it ever was for action. At Amsterdam he was busily employed in corresponding with several eminent men, and with his own immediate friends. The letters which follow are those which possess most interest.

"To General Washington, President of the United States.

"Amsterdam, December 20, 1789.

"SIR—I avail myself of the departure of the Philadelphia packet, Captain Earle, to transmit to your excellency a letter I received for you on leaving Russia in August last, from my friend, the Count de Segur, minister of France at St. Petersburg. That gentleman and myself have frequently conversed on subjects that regard America; and the most pleasing reflection of all has been, the happy establishment of the new constitution, and that you are so deservedly placed at the head of the

government by the unanimous voice of America. Your name alone, Sir, has established in Europe a confidence that was for some time before entirely wanting in American concerns; and I am assured, that the happy effects of your administration are still more sensibly felt throughout the United States. This is more glorious for you than all the laurels that your sword so nobly won in support of the rights of human nature. In war your fame is immortal as the hero of liberty! In peace you are her patron, and the firmest supporter of her rights! Your greatest admirers, and even your best friends, have now but one wish left for you,—that you may long enjoy health and your present happiness.

“Mr. Jefferson can inform you respecting my mission to the court of Denmark. I was received and treated there with marked politeness; and if the *fine words* I received are true, the business will soon be settled. I own, however, that I should have stronger hopes if America had created a respectable marine; for that argument would give weight to every transaction with Europe. I acquitted myself of the commission with which you honoured me when last in America, by delivering your letters with my own hands at Paris to the persons to whom they were addressed.”

On the same date he wrote to the Hon. Charles Thompson, secretary of congress. The letter concludes as follows:

“You mentioned to me at New York, a small, but convenient estate to be sold in the neighbourhood of Lancaster. I think you said it had belonged to Mr. George Ross. May I ask the favour of you to inquire about it, and favour me with your opinion about the purchase of it? I shall probably come to America in the summer, if the empress does not invite me to return to Russia before the opening of the next campaign; a thing I do not expect.”

Among others of his American friends, he wrote to Mr. John Ross, of Philadelphia, who had a power of attorney to receive the dividends on his bank stock, in relation principally

to the unhandsome conduct of the bankers who had given him a letter of credit on Amsterdam, in consequence of one drawn on them by Mr. Ross, when Jones was out on his mission to Denmark. They directed their correspondent not to pay it until further advices from Mr. Ross ; and as Jones' friend, Dr. Bancroft, also disappointed him in not placing funds to his credit at Amsterdam, as he had promised, the former might have been considerably embarrassed, had he not experienced assistance from a quarter on which, he says, he had no claim. These details are uninteresting ; but as allusions are made in some of Jones' letters to his pecuniary transactions with Dr. Bancroft, and the conduct of the latter has been misrepresented in the Edinburgh Life of Jones, it may not be amiss to state what they were. Jones advanced money to Bancroft, who was engaged in introducing the Quercitron bark among the woollen dyers. The latter was unable to meet his engagement at the time referred to ; but when Jones visited England in the spring of 1790, for the purpose of making a settlement, as the term of their contract had expired, he received half of the amount due to him. The other half was afterwards paid to Sir Robert Harries, of London, in whose hands it was at the time of Jones' death.

In the conclusion of his letter to Mr. Ross, Jones says : " I should be glad to know the state of the bank, &c. though I at present want no remittance. I may perhaps return to America in the latter end of the summer ; and in that case I shall wish to purchase a *little farm*, where I may live in peace. I am always affectionately yours.

" N. B. I presume you have received my bust, as Mr. Jefferson has forwarded it for you."

He wrote to Franklin, as follows :

" Amsterdam, December 27, 1789.

" DEAR SIR—The enclosed documents from my friend, the Count de Segur, minister plenipotentiary of France at St. Petersburg, will explain to you in some degree my reasons for

leaving Russia, and the danger to which I was exposed by the dark intrigues and mean subterfuges of Asiatic jealousy and malice. Your former friendship for me, which I remember with particular satisfaction, and have ever been ambitious to merit, will, I am sure, be exerted in the kind use you will make of the three pieces I now send you, for my justification in the eyes of my friends in America, whose good opinion is dearer to me than any thing else. I wrote to the empress from Warsaw in the beginning of October, with a copy of my journal, which will show her majesty how much she has been deceived by the account she had of our maritime operations last campaign. I can easily prove to the world that I have been treated unjustly, but I intend to remain silent at least till I know the fate of my journal.

“I shall remain in Europe till after the opening of the next campaign, and perhaps longer, before I return to America. From the troubles in Brabant, and the measures now pursuing by the king of Prussia, &c. I presume that peace is yet a distant object, and that the Baltic will witness warmer work than it has yet done. On the death of Admiral Greig, I was last year called from the Black Sea by the empress to command a squadron in the Baltic, &c. This set the invention of all my enemies and rivals at work, and the event has proved that the empress cannot always do as she pleases.

“N. B. It is this day ten years since I left the Texel in the Alliance.”

The following letter to John Parish, Esq. merchant, of Hamburgh, is dated December 29. “My departure from Copenhagen was so sudden, that I omitted writing to you, intending to have done it from St. Petersburg. There I found myself in such a round of feasting and business till the moment of my departure for the Black Sea, that I again postponed it. “Had I wrote you after my arrival at Cherson, I have every reason to think my letters would have been intercepted; but, notwithstanding my past silence, I can truly assure you, that I

have constantly entertained the most perfect and grateful sense of your friendly and polite behaviour to me at Hamburgh and Copenhagen. I will now thankfully pay to your order the cost of the smoked beef you were so obliging as to send to my friend, Mr. Jefferson, at my request. The kind interest you have taken in my concerns, and the great desire to cultivate your esteem and friendship, are my present inducements for troubling you with the enclosed packet for the Chevalier Bourgoing,* (the French resident at Hamburgh,) which I leave under a flying seal for your perusal, praying you to shut the exterior cover before you deliver it. I shall make no comments on the documents I send for the Baron de la Houze, but let the simple truth speak for herself. I shall show you, when we meet, things that will surprise you, for you can scarcely have an idea how much our operations have been misrepresented.

“As I am for the present the master of my time, I shall perhaps make you a visit in the spring, and pay my court to some of your kind, rich, old ladies. To be serious, I must stay in Europe till it is seen what changes the present politics will produce, and till I can hear from America; and if you think I can pass my time quietly, agreeably, and at a small expense at Hamburgh, I should prefer it to the fluctuating prospects of other places.”

In the letter referred to in the foregoing, inclosing copies of the letters of Count Segur for the perusal of the Baron de la Houze, who had shown Jones many attentions at Copenhagen, he complains that his correspondence had miscarried or been intercepted. Of many letters which he had written to Mr. Jefferson, but one had been received, by a private hand. Mr. Jefferson had returned to America, and been appointed secretary of state. He had obtained no definitive answer in relation to the claim on Denmark. “As a Russian officer,” says Jones, “I do not pretend to interfere in this matter; but as the sub-

* This letter has been previously inserted.

jects of France have an interest in it, you will undoubtedly find it expedient to confer further with the Count de Bernstorff on the subject. The only substantial difficulty which he suggested to me in conversation, was, that the new constitution of the United States was not yet in force. But this objection no longer exists."

In a postscript to this letter to the baron, he says, "I have many things to tell you about the *moustaches of the capitan pacha*, who is a very brave man. The public has been misinformed as to our dealings with him. I expect to go to France, but shall probably visit you in the spring."

The baron in his reply from Copenhagen, on the 9th of February following, said :

"It is but a few days since I received, with the letter with which you have honoured me of the 29th December, the copies of that of the Count de Segur, which you have been pleased to communicate to me, and which were accompanied by the article inserted on your account in the Gazette of France, and which I had read. This article, which has been repeated in many foreign gazettes, has entirely destroyed all the venomous effects which calumny had employed to tarnish the distinguished reputation which you have acquired by your talents and valour. In consequence, public opinion still continues to render you justice, and the most noble revenge you can take on your enemies is to gather fresh laurels. The celebrated Athenian general, Themistocles, has said : 'I do not envy the situation of the man who is not envied.'"

He also informed Jones that the situation of the claim was as he had left it ; he not having been clothed with plenipotentiary powers, and the Danish minister taking the ground that Paris ought to have been the seat of the negotiation.

To Baron Krudiner, who was still the Russian envoy at Copenhagen, Jones wrote on the same occasion, referring to the letters he had enclosed for Baron de la Houze. He said : "Notwithstanding the unjust treatment I received in Russia, the warm attachment with which the empress inspired me at the beginning, still remains rooted in my heart. You know, Sir,

that her imperial majesty thought my sword an object worthy of her attention, sought it with the most flattering eagerness, and treated me the first time I was at her court with unexampled distinction. That sword has been successfully and frequently drawn on critical occasions, to render the most essential services to her empire, and to cover her flag with fresh laurels. For this I have greatly exposed my reputation, and entirely sacrificed my military pride. Yet I have seen the credit of my services bestowed on others, and I am the only officer who made the campaign of the Liman without being advanced. In a letter I wrote the empress, the 17th day of May last, I mentioned that her majesty would soon receive a direct proof from America of the unanimous approbation with which I am honoured by the United States. I alluded to the gold medal which I am to receive, and respecting which you have in your hands a copy of the unanimous act of Congress. That medal is now elegantly executed, and is ready for me at Paris. The United States have ordered a copy of my medal to be presented to every sovereign in Europe, Great Britain excepted. When we meet, I shall produce clear proof of all I have said respecting Russia. The only promise I asked from the empress at the beginning, and, indeed, the only condition I made with her majesty, was, that "*she should not condemn me without having heard me.*" I need make no remark to a man of your clear understanding. You advised me *to write to the empress by the post.* I wrote several letters while in the department of the Black Sea to my friend Mr. Jefferson, at Paris, containing no detail of our operations, yet they were all intercepted. I have, I think, reason to apprehend that there will be no peace this winter, and that the Baltic will witness *warmer* work than it has yet done.

"You remember that Count B—— (Bernstorff) showed you a paper which he sent, to be delivered to me by the Danish minister at St. Petersburg. I received that paper without any alteration whatever, either in the '*date,*' or otherwise. If I understand you right, it was intended that '*a year's payment would be made in advance,*' but I have not since heard a word in

that respect. I wish to be informed how the payment is intended to be made. It cannot surely be in Danish bank-paper. You will do me a great favour if you can obtain an explicit answer, and it would be much more agreeable if the payment could be made here, instead of being made at any other place. I have not yet mentioned this affair to any person whatever, except yourself. You are no stranger to my sentiments. You know the present happy state of America. That nation will soon create a respectable marine. It is now a year since I gave a plan to the court of St. Petersburg, for forming a political and commercial connexion with the United States. The empress approved this much, and there was question of sending me to America in consequence. But a great man told me, 'que cela enrageroit les Anglais d'avantage contre la Russie, et qu'il falloit auparavant faire la paix avec les Turcs.' Accept my warm congratulations on the well-merited advancement you have received in the order of St. Wolodimer. I hear that your lady is at Paris. I beg you to assure her of my great respect," &c. &c.

The pension would no doubt have been convenient at this time, as he had been merely paid by the Russian government, as has been mentioned, at the rate of 1800 roubles per annum, and his great expenses had more than exhausted the advances made by that government; while he found it difficult to realize money from his private resources. Baron Krudiner's reply, on the 6th February following, is brief, and may, therefore, be as well inserted. "It is with lively sensibility that I have received the mark of remembrance with which your excellency was pleased to honour me, under date of the 29th December; and the hope it holds forth, that I may probably see you in the course of the spring, adds to my satisfaction. I have spoken to Count B. touching your business. He told me that every thing was at your own disposition; that you had only to send a brief receipt, or an order to receive the money, to any person here, and payment would be made; but that it was impossible it

should be in other money than in that of the country. You have witnessed, Sir, the efforts I have made in this business, and that every thing would have been arranged agreeably to your own desire, if success had corresponded to the warmth of my intentions. They entrench themselves behind the impossibility of making an exception to, and breach of, a rule generally established. Accept my sincere compliments on the flattering mark of esteem and distinction which the United States of America have bestowed upon you. They have anticipated history. It is yet doubtful whether we shall have peace this year; in all events I flatter myself, as a good Russian, that your arm is always reserved for us."

Whatever Bernstorff may seriously have intended, it is certain that Jones never received a farthing of the Danish pension.

The following letter in French, is without direction :

" Amsterdam, March 12th, 1790.

" SIR—I answered at the time the letter you did me the honour of writing me from Stuttgrade, on the 20th June, 1788. That letter was despatched to me from St. Petersburg, to the squadron then under my orders before Oczakow. But as I have not been honoured with new advices from you since I wrote, it is to be presumed that my letter did not reach you. I avail myself of a private opportunity, again to testify my gratitude for the favour you have been pleased to do me on the part of the order of which you are vice chancellor, by transmitting to me a copy of its fundamental laws, and proposing to receive me as a member. But you will allow me, Sir, at the same time, to repeat to you, that having drawn my sword only for honour, being decorated already with three honourable orders, and having received glorious marks of the most distinguished satisfaction and esteem from his most christian majesty and from the United States, I could not answer it to myself to pay money for admission, or even to be regarded by the order as an hereditary member. I have no right to interfere with the order; but without being wanting in respect, I may be permitted to

say, that I have never bought honours otherwise than by my conduct. I have written memoirs of my campaigns, but have not the courage to give them up for publication. I expect to remain here until the 16th of April."

Jones went to England, as has been mentioned, to make his arrangements with Dr. Bancroft, and returned to Paris the same spring. He had been expected in that city early in the winter, as appears by a letter to him from Mr. Short, United States consul at the court of France, to whom he had written in relation to the medal, and, as it would seem, to the feasibility of having a series struck, commemorating his victories. It also appears by this letter, that M. Grand, Jones' banker in Paris, had no money belonging to him in his hands at this time; which corroborates the belief that he visited England from necessity.

The first letter from Paris, among his papers, is to M. Genet, who remained at the Russian court, after Count Segur had left it. It is dated June 1st. "As I arrived here," he says, "only a few days ago, from Holland and England, I have not yet had the pleasure to see your sister.* I hope to have the honour very soon, and will deliver to her my bust, as a mark of my personal regard towards your father and yourself. M. de Simolin does me the honour to forward this letter to you. I have shown him proof that, if I have not sought to avenge myself of the unjust and cruel treatment I met with in Russia, my forbearance has been only the result of my delicate attachment towards the empress." "You will oblige me by inquiring at the cabinet, and demanding the appointments due to me for the current year, which ends the 1st of July, agreeably to the promise of the empress, communicated to me by the Counts de Bruce and Besborodko. I wish to have that money immediately transmitted to me."

* M. Genet's letter of introduction to Madame Campan, has been previously mentioned

Two letters to a lady at Avignon may be introduced here. I am not informed who the lady was, nor do the papers throw any light on the subject.

To Madame Le Mair d'Altigny, at Avignon.

"Amsterdam, 8th February, 1790.

"I have received, my dear madam, the two obliging letters you did me the honour to address to me from Avignon on the 18th and 22d of December. Accept also, I pray you, my sincere acknowledgments for the two letters you had the kindness to send me at Strasburgh. I am infinitely flattered by the interest with which I have the happiness to have inspired you, and your good wishes in my concerns give me true pleasure. I am not come here on account of any thing connected with military operations; and though I think it right to retain my rank, I have always regarded war as the scourge of the human race. I am very happy that you are once more above your difficulties. Past events will enable you to value the blessings of Providence, among which, to a sensible heart, there are none greater than health and independence, enjoyed in the agreeable society of persons of merit. As soon as circumstances permit, I shall feel eager to join the delightful society in which you are. As you have not sent me your address at Avignon, I beg of you to do so, and to be assured of my entire esteem."

A reply was received, it appears, to this letter; but the correspondence was not briskly sustained on the part of Jones.

"Paris, December 27, 1790.

"MY DEAR MADAM—I have received your charming letter of the 2d March. Having an affair of business to arrange in England, I went from Amsterdam to London at the beginning of May, to settle it. I escaped being murdered on landing. From London I came hither, and have not had an hour of health since my arrival. I now feel convalescent, otherwise I would not have dared to write, for fear of giving pain to your feeling heart. In leaving Holland my plan was to repair to

Avignon, in compliance with your obliging invitation. My health formed an invincible obstacle, but I still hope to indemnify myself on the return of the fine weather. I was for a long time very much alarmed by the disturbances which interrupted the peace of your city, and am very glad to see they are ended. I have learned, with lively satisfaction, that they have had no disagreeable consequences so far as regards you. Give me news of yourself, I pray you, and of those interesting persons of whom you speak in your last letter. Accept the assurance of the sincere sentiments which you are formed to inspire."

The following letter to his sister, Mrs. Taylor, is one of the few documents which remain to be inserted, that can be read without painful associations. The last enemy with whom all men have to contend, and to whom they must all yield up their earthly possessions, hopes, and dreams, had already effected a lodgement in the constitution of Jones; and the period of action was closed for him. Disappointment from many quarters embittered the last two years of his life, and promoted the progress of the disease, or more properly complication of diseases, which was hurrying him from a world of restlessness and perplexity.

"Amsterdam, March 26, 1790.

"I wrote you, my dear friend, from Paris, by Mr. Kennedy, who delivered me the kind letter you wrote me by him. Circumstances obliged me to return soon afterwards to America, and on my arrival at New York, Mr. Thomson delivered me a letter that had been intrusted to his care by Mrs. Loudon. It would be superfluous to mention the great satisfaction I received in hearing from two persons I so much love and esteem, and whose worthy conduct as wives and mothers is so respectable in my eyes. Since my return to Europe, a train of circumstances and changes of residence have combined to keep me silent. This has given me more pain than I can express; for I have a tender regard for you both, and nothing can be indifferent to me that regards your happiness and the welfare of your children. I wish for a particular detail of their age, respective ta-

lents, characters, and education. I do not desire this information merely from curiosity. It would afford me real satisfaction to be useful to their establishment in life. We must study the genius and inclination of the boys, and try to fit them, by a suitable education, for the pursuits we may be able to adopt for their advantage. When their education shall be advanced to a proper stage, at the school of Dumfries for instance, it must then be determined whether it may be most economical and advantageous for them to go to Edinburgh or France to finish their studies. All this is supposing them to have great natural genius and goodness of disposition ; for without these they can never become eminent. For the females, they require an education suited to the delicacy of character that is becoming in their sex. I wish I had a fortune to offer to each of them ; but though this is not the case, I may yet be useful to them. And I desire particularly to be useful to the two young women, who have a double claim to my regard, as they have lost their father. Present my kind compliments to Mrs. Loudon, to her husband, to Mr. Taylor, and your two families, and depend on my affectionate attachment.

“Write me without delay, and having sealed and directed your letter as you did the one you sent me by Mr. Kennedy, let it be enclosed in a cover, and direct the cover thus, ‘To Messieurs Stophorst and Hubbard, Amsterdam.’ You will inquire if it be necessary to pay a part of the postage, in order that the letter may be sent to Holland in the packet. I should be glad if the two Miss Youngs* would do me the favour to write me each a paragraph in your letter, or to write me, if they prefer it, each a separate letter, and I should be glad to find that they understand and can write the French.”

On the 24th of July, in this year, (1790,) he thought proper to address a letter to Potemkin. The admirers of his courage

* His orphan nieces alluded to above.

and independence of character, will regret that he should have done so, unless business or etiquette required it. But it must be recollected, that this was the only useful avenue through which he could approach the throne of the Czarina ; that he was wearied with his inert and unpleasant position ; and that his habit of persevering, by letter writing, to enforce the accomplishment of his objects, from those in power, by dint of importunity, was constitutional and inveterate.

“ Paris, 24th July, 1790.

“ MY LORD—I do not think it becomes me to let pass the occasion of the return of your aid-de-camp, to congratulate you on the brilliant success of your operations since I had the honour to serve under your orders, and to express to you, in all the sincerity of my heart, the regret I feel in not being fortunate enough to contribute thereto. After the campaign of Liman, when I had leave, according to the special desire of her imperial majesty, to return to the department of the northern seas, your highness did me the favour to grant me a letter of recommendation to the empress, and to speak to me these words: ‘ Rely upon my attachment. I am disposed to grant you the most solid proofs of my friendship for the present and for the future.’ Do you recollect them ? This disclosure was too flattering for me to forget it, and I hope you will permit me to remind you of it. Circumstances and the high rank of my enemies have deprived me of the benefits which I had dared to hope from the esteem which you had expressed for me, and which I had endeavoured to merit by my services. You know the disagreeable situation in which I was placed ; but if, as I dared to believe, I have preserved your good opinion, I may still hope to see it followed by advantages, which it will be my glory to owe to you. M. de Simolin can testify to you, that my attachment to Russia, and to the great princess who is its sovereign, has always been constant and durable ; I attended to my duties, and not to my fortune. I have been wrong, and I avow it with a frankness which carries with it its own excuse : 1st, That I

did not request of you a *carte-blanche*, and the absolute command of all the forces of the Liman. 2d, To have written to your highness under feelings highly excited, on the 25th October, (N. S.) 1788. These are my faults. If my enemies have wished to impute others to me, I swear before God that they are a calumny. It only rests with me, my lord, to unmask the villany of my enemies, by publishing my journal of the operations of the campaign of Liman, with the proofs, clear as the day, and which I have in my hands. It only rests with me to prove that I directed, under your orders, all the useful operations against the capitan pacha ; that it was I who beat him on the 7th June ; that it was I and the brave men I commanded who conquered him on the 17th June, and who chased into the sands two of his largest galleys, before our flotilla was ready to fire a single shot, and during the time a very considerable part of the force of the enemy remained at anchor immediately in rear of my squadron ; that it was I who gave to General Suworroff, (he had the nobleness to declare it at court before me, to the most respectable witnesses,) the first project to establish the battery and breast-works on the isthmus of Kinbourn, and which were of such great utility on the night of the 17th—18th June ; that it was I, in person, who towed, with my sloops and other vessels, the batteries which were the nearest to the place, the 1st July, and who took the Turkish galleys by boarding, very much in advance of our line, whilst some gentlemen, who have been too highly rewarded in consequence of it, were content to remain in the rear of the struggles of our line, if I may be allowed to use the expression, sheltered from danger. You have seen, yourself, my lord, that I never valued my person on any occasion where I had the good fortune to act under your eye. The whole of Europe acknowledges my veracity, and grants me some military talents, which it would give me pleasure to employ in the service of Russia, under your orders.

“The time will arrive, my lord, when you will know the exact truth of what I have told you. Time is a sovereign master. It will teach you to appreciate the man, who, loaded with your

benefits, departed from the court of Russia with a memorial prepared by other hands and the enemies of your glory, and of which memorial he made no use, because your brilliant success at the taking of Oczakow, which he learned on his arrival in White Russia, gave the lie to all the horrors which had been brought forward to enrage the empress against you. You know it was the echo of another intriguer at the court of Vienna. In fine, time will teach you, my lord, that I am neither a mountebank nor a swindler, but a man true and loyal. I rely upon the attachment and friendship which you promised me. I rely on it, because I feel myself worthy of it. I reclaim your promise, because you are just, and I know you are a lover of truth. I commanded, and was the only responsible person in the campaign of the Liman, the others being only of inferior rank, or simple volunteers; and I am, however, the only one who has not been promoted or rewarded. I am extremely thankful for the order of St. Anne which you procured for me, according to your letter of thanks, *for my conduct in the affair of the 7th June*, which was not decisive. The 17th June I gained over the capitan pacha a complete victory, which saved Cherson and Kinbourn, the terror of which caused the enemy to lose nine vessels of war in their precipitate flight on the following night, under the cannon of the battery and breast-work which I had caused to be erected in the isthmus of Kinbourn. On this occasion I had the honour again to receive a *letter of thanks*; but my enemies and rivals have found means to abuse your confidence, since they have been exclusively rewarded. They merited rather to have been punished for having burnt nine armed prizes, with their crews, which were absolutely in our power, having previously ran aground under our guns.

“I have been informed that, according to the institution of the order of St. George, I have the right to claim its decorations in the second class for the victory of the 17th June, but I rely upon your justice and generosity. I regret that a secret project, which I addressed to the Count de Besborodko the 6th of June of the last year, has not been adopted. I communi-

cated this project to the Baron de Beichler, who has promised me to speak to you of it. I was detained in St. Petersburg until the end of August, in order to hinder me, as I have heard, from proceeding into the service of Sweden. My poor enemies, how I pity them! But for this circumstance my intention was to have presented myself at your head-quarters, in the hope to be of some utility; and the Baron de Beichler, in departing from St. Petersburg in order to join you, promised me to assure you of my devotion for the service of your department, and that I should hold myself ready to return to you the instant I was called. My conduct has not since changed, although I hold in my hand a parole for two years, and I regard eighteen months of this parole, in a time of war, more as a punishment than as a favour. I hope that your highness will succeed in concluding peace this year with the Turks; but, in a contrary case, if it should please you to recall me to take command of the fleet in the ensuing campaign, I would ask permission to bring with me the French officer concerning whom I spoke to you, with one or two others, who are good tacticians, and who have some knowledge of war. On my return here I received a gold medal, granted me by the *unanimous* voice of Congress, at the moment I received a parole from this honourable body. The United States have decreed me this honour, in order to perpetuate the remembrance of the services which I rendered to America eight years previous, and have ordered a copy to be presented to all the sovereigns and all the academies of Europe, with the exception of Great Britain. There is reason to believe that your highness will be numbered among the sovereigns of Europe, in consequence of the treaty of peace which you are about to conclude with the Turks; but in any case, if a copy of my medal will be acceptable to you as a mark of my attachment for your person, it will do me an honour to offer it to you.

“PAUL JONES.”

Indisposition gaining upon his health daily, to which he adverts in several of his letters, probably interrupted his active

correspondence during this year ; and the record of his engagements, occupations, and thoughts, is scanty. It would probably be but a feverish picture, painful to contemplate. The following, written on hearing of a family dissension, is the only other of interest, among his papers, written in 1790 :

“ Paris, December 27, 1790.

“ I duly received, my dear Mrs. Taylor, your letter of the 16th August, but ever since that time I have been unable to answer it, not having been capable to go out of my chamber, and having been for the most part obliged to keep my bed. I have now no doubt but that I am in a fair way of a perfect recovery, though it will require time and patience.

“ I shall not conceal from you that your family discord aggravates infinitely all my pains. My grief is inexpressible, that two sisters, whose happiness is so interesting to me, do not live together in that *mutual tenderness and affection* which would do so much honour to themselves and to the memory of their worthy relations. Permit me to recommend to your serious *study* and *application* Pope's Universal Prayer. You will find more morality in that little piece, than in many volumes that have been written by great divines—

‘ Teach me to *feel* another's wo,
To *hide* the fault I see ;
That mercy I to others show,
Such mercy *show* to me !’

“ This is not the language of a weak superstitious mind, but the spontaneous offspring of true religion, springing from a heart sincerely inspired by *charity*, and deeply impressed with a sense of the calamities and *frailties* of human nature. If the sphere in which Providence has placed us as members of society requires the exercise of brotherly kindness and charity towards our neighbour in general, how much more is this our duty with respect to individuals with whom we are connected by the *near* and *tender* ties of nature, as well as moral obligation

Every lesser virtue may pass away, but *charity* comes from Heaven, and is immortal. Though I wish to be the instrument of making family peace, which I flatter myself would tend to promote the happiness of you all, yet I by no means desire you to do violence to your own feelings, by taking any step that is contrary to your own judgment and inclination. Your reconciliation must come free from your heart, otherwise it will not last, and therefore it will be better not to attempt it. Should a reconciliation take place, I recommend it of all things, that you never mention past grievances, nor show, by *word, look, or action*, that you have not forgot them."

Early in the next year, 1791, he again memorialized the empress, having, for aught that appears to the contrary, heard nothing directly or indirectly from Potemkin, and having been cheered with no intimation from the empress, that she had read his journals and justificatory papers, or held him in remembrance as an officer subject to her orders.

To her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias.

"Paris, 8th March, (N. S.) 1791.

"MADAM—If I could imagine that the letter which I had the honour to write to your majesty from Warsaw, the 25th September, 1789, had come to hand, it would be without doubt indiscreet in me to beg you to cast your eyes on the documents enclosed, which *accuse no person*,* and the only intent of which is, to let you see that in the important campaign of Liman, the part which I played was not either that of a *zero* or of a *harlequin*, who required to be made a colonel at the *tail* of his regiment. I have in my hands the means to prove, incontestibly, that I directed all the useful operations against the capitan pacha. The task which was given to me at this critical conjunc-

* Inserted probably to provide for the case of the letters being intercepted and read by Besborodko, as he had been informed happened before; which he intimates in a letter to Mr. Littlepage, previously inserted.

ture was very difficult. I was obliged to sacrifice my own opinion and risk my military reputation for the benefit of your empire. But I hope you will be satisfied with the manner in which I conducted myself, and also of the subsequent arrangements, of which I am persuaded you have not been acquainted until this moment. The gracious counsel which your majesty has often done me the honour to repeat to me before my departure for the Black Sea, and in the letter which you deigned to write to me afterwards, has since been the rule of my conduct; and the faithful attachment with which you had inspired me for your person, was the only reason which hindered me from requesting my dismissal when I wrote to you from Warsaw; for I confess that I was extremely afflicted, and even offended, at having received a parole for two years in time of war; a parole which it has never entered into my mind to wish for, and still less to ask, and of which I have not profited to go to America, or even to Denmark,* where I had important business; for I had always hoped to be usefully employed in your service, before the expiration of this parole, which has done me so much injury; and although in public I would not have failed to have spoken to you at the last audience which you granted me, yet I was unfortunately led to believe the repeated promises made me, that I should have a private audience, in order to lay before you my military projects, and to speak of them in detail.

“I hope that the brilliant success with which Providence has blessed your arms, will enable you to grant peace to your enemies without shedding more of human blood; but in a contrary case, your majesty can be well instructed from my projects, No. 12, of the last year.

“As I have my enemies, and as the term of my parole is about to expire, I await the orders of your majesty, and should

* There is no reason to believe that he wrote thus merely from policy, or was not sincere. On the contrary, if he had gone to Copenhagen, it is likely that he would have obtained the arrearages of his pension; and that he was prevented by considerations arising from his relations to the Russian government.

be flattered, if it is your pleasure for me to come and render you an account in person. Mr. —, who has the goodness to charge himself with this packet, which I have addressed to him, sealed with my arms, will also undertake to forward me your orders ; I therefore pray you to withdraw me as soon as possible from the cruel uncertainty in which I am placed. Should you deign, Madam, to inform me that you are pleased with the services which I have had the happiness to render you, I will console myself for the misfortunes which I have suffered, as I drew my sword for you from personal attachment and ambition, but not for interest. My fortune, as you know, is not very considerable ; but as I am philosopher enough to confine myself to my means, I shall be always rich."

The following correspondence with two ladies whom he numbered among his friends, took place at this time, and diversifies the character of the remaining materials for his biography.

To Mesdames Le Grande and Rinsby, à Trevoux, près de Lion

"Paris, February 25, 1791.

"DEAR AND AMIABLE LADIES—Madame Clement has read me part of a letter from you, in which you conclude that I prefer love to friendship, and Paris to Trevoux. As to the first part you may be right, for love frequently communicates divine qualities, and in that light may be considered as the cordial that Providence has bestowed on mortals, to help them to digest the nauseous draught of life. Friendship, they say, has more solid qualities than love. This is a question I shall not attempt to resolve ; but sad experience generally shows, that where we expect to find a friend, we have only been treacherously deluded by false appearances, and that the goddess herself very seldom confers her charms on any of the human race. As to the second, I am too much a philosopher to prefer noise to tranquillity : if this does not determine the preference between Paris and Trevoux, I will add, that I have had very bad health almost ever

since your departure, and that other circumstances have conspired to detain me here, which have nothing to do either with love or friendship. My health is now recovering, and as what is retarded is not always lost, I hope soon to have the happiness of paying you my personal homage, and of renewing the assurance of that undiminished attachment which women of such distinguished worth and talents naturally inspire. I am," &c.

The answer of the lady first mentioned in the direction of this letter, follows.

"Trevoux, 6th March, 1791.

"SIR—I had given up the hope of receiving any intelligence of your excellency, and I acknowledge it cost me much before I could believe that the promise of a great man was no more to be relied on than that of the herd of mankind. The letter with which you have honoured me convinces me that my heart knew you better than my head; for though my reason whispered that you had quite forgotten us, I was unwilling to believe it.

"Madame Wolfe, as well as myself, is much concerned for the bad state of your health. I am sorry that, like myself, your excellency is taught the value of health by sickness. Come to us, Sir; if you do not find here the pleasures you enjoy in Paris, you will find a good air, frugal meals, freedom, and hearts that can appreciate you.

"I am concerned to perceive that your excellency is an unbeliever in friendship. Alas, if you want friends, who shall pretend to possess them! I hope you will recover from this error, and be convinced that friendship is something more than a chimaera of Plato.

"Do me the favour to acquaint me with the time we may expect the honour of seeing you. I must be absent for some days, and I would not for any thing in the world that I should not be here on your arrival. If I knew the time, I would send my little carriage to meet the stage-coach, as I suppose you will take that conveyance.

“Madame Wolfe expects the moment of your arrival with as much eagerness as myself, (she says;) but as I best know my own feelings, I am certain I go beyond her. Of this I am certain, that we shall both count the day till we have the happiness of seeing you. Come quickly then, I pray you.”

To several letters written by him at the close of February, in which he seems to have had a respite from the immediate effects of his malady, it is merely necessary to allude. The United States having named a vice consul for the port of Marseilles, and the appointment of other functionaries for commercial purposes in different European ports being expected, he offered to his banker in Paris, (M. Grand,) his good offices with the United States' secretary of legation, Mr. Short, to procure him such a situation, which he had seemed desirous of obtaining; and to the latter gentleman he wrote, recommending M. Neissen, a merchant of Amsterdam, and friend of his, to be nominated as consul for that port. He also recommended the appointment of a commercial agent at Elsinour. He says in the conclusion of this letter: “I called the other day on M. Dupres, who informed me that Mr. Jefferson had taken from him the dies of my medal, after three examples only had been struck. Pray are the dies in your possession, or are they carried to America? Accept my compliments on your success, and on the credit of your country. But I am still of opinion that a loan may be made, at less than 5 per cent.” He enclosed his vindictory papers, in relation to the Russian campaign, to the Hon. William Carmichael, who was in a diplomatic capacity at Madrid. He says: “You will judge how unfortunate I was, in having to do with the greatest knight of industry* under the sun: an enemy the

* He writes in English, but uses a French phrase, which though now universal, may perhaps not be familiar to some American readers. The *chevalier d'industrie* is neither more nor less than a black-leg, which phrase he does not scruple to apply, not without figurative propriety, to the Prince de Nassau. He *was* a gambler or speculator in the wars between nations.

more dangerous, as his ignorance, which has since appeared in such glaring colours to all Europe, had put me off my guard. Soon after I left Russia, I sent to the empress my journal of the important campaign I commanded on the Liman, and before Oczakow ; but it contained such damning proofs against my enemies, that it has undoubtedly been intercepted. As a sure occasion offers, I shall write again next month ; and my letter will contain my resignation, in case I receive no immediate satisfaction." In a postscript he asks : " Pray can you inform me whether any thing efficacious is in agitation, for the relief of our unhappy countrymen at Algiers ? Nothing provokes me so much, as the shameful neglect they have so long experienced."

On the 20th of March following, he addressed Mr. Jefferson at great length, and as the letter has been several times published, and is not essentially necessary to the exposition of his feelings and circumstances, extracts from it will suffice. He informed the secretary of state, that he had received no answers to his letters addressed to the high public officers in America, more than a year previous ; congratulated him on the acceptance of the high station which he filled ; and took occasion to make a remark, suggested by the contrast between the lavish amount of European appointments, which he immediately had under his eye, and those dictated by the spirit of republican economy which have, even up to this time, been found sufficient to make a post in the American cabinet an object of patriotic ambition. He said, " It gives me pain that so inadequate a provision has been made, for doing the honour incumbent on the first minister of a nation of such resources as America, and I wish that matter may be soon changed to your satisfaction." Mr. Jefferson argued in favour of no increase of salary.

Jones mentions the documents in his vindication, which he transmitted with his despatch, and intimated his presentiment that he should be constrained to withdraw from the Russian service, and publish his journal of the campaign. Referring to the scandal

which was made available to drive him from St. Petersburg, he says: "Chevalier Littlepage, now here on his way from Spain to the north, has promised me a letter to you on my subject, which I presume will show the meanness and absurdity of the intrigues that were practised for my persecution at St. Petersburg. I did not myself comprehend all the blackness of that business before he came here, and related to me the information he received from a gentleman of high rank in the diplomatic department, with whom he travelled in company from Madrid to Paris. That gentleman had long resided in a public character at St. Petersburg, and was there all the time of the pitiful complot against me ; which was conducted by a little-great man behind the curtain. The unequalled reception with which I had, at first, been honoured by the empress, had been extremely mortifying and painful to the English at St. Petersburg, and the courtier just mentioned, (finding that politics had taken a turn far more alarming than he had expected at the beginning of the war,) wishing to sooth the court of London into a pacific humour, found no first step so expedient as that of sacrificing me ! But instead of producing the effect he wished, this base conduct, on which he pretended to ground a conciliation, rather widened the political breach, and made him to be despised by the English minister, by the English cabinet, and by the gentleman who related the secret to the Chevalier Littlepage." The reader must exercise his own sagacity in conjecturing who this little great man and courtier was ; it surpasses that of the editor. It is but just to remark, however, that this statement seems to exculpate any *English* agent from a direct action in the propagation of the infamous slander. Jones next informed Mr. Jefferson of the circumstances under which the patent was given, granting him during life a pension of fifteen hundred crowns from the treasury of Denmark. This patent was dated on the 4th day of December, 1788, the same day on which Count Bernstorff wrote the letter to Jones, which effectually terminated the progress of his negotiations at that time. In Jones' letter to Mr. Jefferson immediately after, he makes no mention of the par-

ticular circumstances and manner in which the propitiatory oblation was made, though he refers to his interview with the prince. In the letter now before us, he says :

“ The day before I left the court of Copenhagen, the prince royal had desired to speak with me in his apartment. His royal highness was extremely polite, and after saying many civil things, remarked, he hoped I was satisfied with the attentions that had been shown to me since my arrival, and that the king would wish to give me some mark of his esteem. ‘ I have never had the happiness to render any service to his majesty.’ ‘ That is nothing ; a man like you ought to be excepted from ordinary rules. You could not have shown yourself more delicate as regards our flag, and every person here loves you.’

“ I took leave without farther explanation. I have felt myself in an embarrassing situation on account of the king’s patent, and I have as yet made no use of it, though three years have nearly elapsed since I received it. I wished to consult you ; but when I understood that you would not return to Europe, I consulted Mr. Short and Mr. G. Morris, who both gave me their opinion, that I may with propriety accept the advantage offered. I have in consequence determined to draw for the sum due, and I think you will not disapprove of this step, as it can by no means weaken the claim of the United States, but rather the contrary.”

He informed Mr. Jefferson also, that he had not yet been presented at court, but would shortly be so, by the Marquis de la Fayette ; spoke of transmitting one of his busts for the state of North Carolina, which had been requested by a member of Congress ; and which was to be decorated with the order of St. Anne, on the American uniform, if he should be authorized by the United States to wear that order, which authorization he solicited Mr. Jefferson to obtain for him ; and adverted to the condition of the American prisoners at Algiers, with whose situation, he said, “ I continue to be deeply affected ; the more so, as I learn from the pirate now here, who took the greatest part of them, that if they are not very soon redeemed, they will be

treated with no more lenity than is shown to other slaves. He told this to Mr. Littlepage, who repeated it to me."

The letter from Mr. Littlepage, which accompanied that cited from, and which is referred to in it, was as follows :

"You will share my regret in reflecting, that we were the principal means of engaging Admiral Sir John Paul Jones to accept the propositions made to him in 1788 by the Russian court. Never were more brilliant prospects held forth to an individual, and never individual better calculated to attain them. The campaign upon the Liman of 1788, added lustre to the arms of Russia, and ought to have established for ever the reputation and fortune of the gallant officer to whose conduct those successes were owing ; but unfortunately, in Russia, more perhaps than elsewhere, every thing is governed by intrigue. Some political motives, *I have reason to think*, concurred in depriving Admiral Paul Jones of the fruits of his services ; he was thought to be particularly obnoxious to the English nation, and the idea of paying a servile compliment to a power whose enmity occasions all the present embarrassments of Russia, induced some leading persons to ruin him in the opinion of the empress by an accusation too ridiculous to be mentioned.

"It would be needless to enter into details ; you have too much confidence in Admiral Paul Jones to doubt the veracity of what he will personally communicate to you, and to which I refer you."

In June of this year, as appears by the draft of a letter which is preserved, though without particular date or direction, the rear admiral, in addition to his ill state of body, and to the irritating state of inaction into which he was thrown, was really vexed by the delay he experienced in receiving the funds belonging to his private exchequer, which he had a right to look for.

The last letter preserved, in which he indicates a wish to cling to his Russian engagements, is one to the Baron de Grimm, who was then at Bourbon le Bair, and which is dated July 9th. It was as follows :

"SIR— M. Houdon has sent to your house the bust which you have done me the honour to accept. Mademoiselle Marchais has informed me of all the obliging things you have said regarding my affairs. She has just told me, that the answer of the empress awaits you at Frankfort. As it is my duty to interest myself in objects that may be useful to Russia, I must inform you that I have met with a man here, whom I have known for fifteen years, who has invented a new construction of ships of war, which has small resemblance, either externally or internally, to our present war-ships, and which will, he says, possess the following advantages over them :

"I. The crew will be better sheltered during an engagement.

"II. The accommodations of the crew will be more spacious; every individual may have a bed or a hammock, and there may be as much air as is wished for, night and day, in the places for sleeping.

"III. There will be less smoke during an engagement.

"IV. A ship of the new construction, of 54 guns, if well armed and commanded, may face one of the old make of 80 or 90, and need not run away from one of an hundred.

"V. That besides requiring less artillery, the new vessels would cost less in their construction; and different sorts of wood, both dear and rare, required for the old vessels, might be dispensed with.

"VI. A new ship, displaying to the eye all the majesty of her appointments, would have a more imposing appearance of power than another; and would never be forced into an engagement, without stupid imprudence on the part of her commander.

"VII. Vessels of the new construction, would add to many other advantages, that of greater facility in navigation, by sailing a quarter, or 11 degrees and 15 minutes, nearer the wind than the old ones, and swerving less from the course.

"It is a long time since, in conjunction with my friend Dr Franklin, I tried to devise the construction of a ship

which could be navigated without ballast, be ready for action at any time, draw less water, and at the same time drive little or not at all to leeward. We always encountered great obstacles. Since the death of that great philosopher, having too much time on my hands, I think I have surmounted the difficulties which baffled our researches. The ship-builder of whom I have spoken, has explained nothing to me in detail, and is altogether ignorant of my ideas on the subject. Being old, he wishes to preserve his invention, and to derive an annuity from it. Nothing can be more just, if on experiment his discovery holds; and as it is a thing which appears to me to deserve the attention of the empress, I beg of you to acquaint her majesty of it as soon as possible. This person wished to go to England to offer his discovery, where I think it would have been received; but, as I have some influence with him, I have persuaded him to remain here, and wait your reply. If he receive any encouragement, he will communicate his ideas more fully to me. But in every case I would dedicate to the empress, without any stipulation, all that my feeble genius has accomplished in naval architecture. I believe I have found out the secret of mounting on a ship of war, with the qualifications I have mentioned above, five batteries of whatever calibre is desired. Will not this, presuming it correct, be of great advantage to the infant marine of the Black Sea, and consequently to the prosperity of the Russian empire?"

The empress *did* reply to Grimm's letter, communicating the rear admiral's suggestions; she mentioned that there was a prospect of peace, and intimated that if she should have occasion for the services of Jones, she would communicate directly with him, without the necessity of the baron's intervention.

There is among the loose papers preserved, a letter of the 16th September, of this year, from a chevalier whose patronymic baffles curiosity, as his hand-writing was fine beyond conception. He informs the rear admiral, that in a conversation he had had with Admiral Digby on the day previous, that offi-

eer had expressed an anxious desire to become acquainted with him, and presses Jones to allow him to introduce him, at as early a day as possible, to the admiral's amiable family. This is mentioned as not unimportant in proving, that brave and enlightened Englishmen were not imbued with the vulgar prejudices which seem to have prevailed in their country in relation to this adopted son of America. Indeed, there are several others which refute such a supposition, that have not been mentioned; among which are two from the Earl of Wemys, written in 1785, dated at his residence, the "Chateau de Cotandar," near Neufchatel, which refer to communications the earl had had with the Prince of Wirtemburgh, on subjects in which Jones was interested. He addresses him as "my dear commodore," and Jones in his replies calls him "my dear lord Wemys." These letters, with several others, have been omitted, because they needed explanations which the editor could not furnish.

In November, he wrote Mr. Littlepage, who was then at Warsaw, congratulating him on the (abortive) revolution of Poland, and transmitting a pamphlet published by the friend of his, whose schemes he had mentioned to Baron Grimm, which Jones wished to present to his Polish majesty. He mentions that Bancroft had paid him half the amount for which he was a creditor, and adds: "Before the month of May, I expect also to receive a considerable amount from other sources in Europe; and, in America I have sundry tracts of land, and funds both in the bank, and in the public stocks; so that, if I return to that country, I shall have the means of living independent, in a handsome style. I mention the above circumstances on account of the kind interest you take in all my concerns."

The last letter written this year, which will be inserted, was addressed to the Marquis de la Fayette, and dated December 7th. It shows that in the approach of the impending storm, his feelings towards the king were still benevolent.

"DEAR GENERAL—My ill health for some time past, has prevented me from the pleasure of paying you my personal re-

spects, but I hope shortly to indulge myself with that satisfaction.

“ I hope you approve the quality of the fur-linings I brought from Russia for the king and yourself. I flatter myself that his majesty will accept from your hand that little mark of the sincere attachment I feel for his person ; and be assured, that I shall be always ready to draw the sword with which he honoured me for the service of the virtuous and illustrious ‘ PROTECTOR OF THE RIGHTS OF HUMAN NATURE.’ ”

“ When my health shall be re-established, M. Simolin will do me the honour to present me to his majesty as a Russian admiral. Afterwards it will be my duty, as an American officer, to wait on his majesty with the letter which I am directed to to present to him from the United States.”

It is to be presumed that sickness prevented Jones from taking any active part in the discussions and movements which were fast hurrying France into her long agony. The last letters of his which will be cited, betray a morbid and querulous irascibility, which indicate that a diseased frame had affected a gallant but impatient spirit. Still they are characteristic. The following letter from the minister of marine was in reply to one from the rear admiral, demanding the arrearages of pay due to the crew of the *Bon Homme Richard*. His own personal claim on the French government amounted to 7,000 livres.

From the Minister of Marine, to M. the Admiral Paul Jones.

“ Paris, February 21, 1792.

“ I have, Sir, had the accounts examined, relating to the reclamation you have made of wages remaining due to the crew of the ship ‘ *Le Bon Homme Richard*.’ I find that in the year 1784, you presented that reclamation to the Marechal de Castries ; upon which that minister refused to pay you the amount of those wages, and intimated to you that he would direct the American seamen to be paid by the French consuls, resident in the United States, and would settle at Paris or in the ports,

with the French and foreign seamen, according to the amount of their demands. I find also that you were not contented with this decision, and solicited again the delivery into your own hands of the amount of those wages, offering M. Grand as security: that upon this, M. de Castries required two separate accounts to be made; one, of the wages due to American, English, Irish, and Scottish seamen; and the other, of those due to Portuguese, French, and others; and these accounts amounted, the first to 25,338, 3, 1 livres; the second to 5,115, 6, 9 livres; and that these being submitted to the consideration of the minister, he approved of allowing to you 15,000 livres, to face the demands of the American seamen, on condition that M. Grand would be responsible for its payment. I have the honour, Sir, of observing to you, that it is the settled custom to pay to seamen the balance of wages accruing to them, on discharging the vessel; that as well on this account, as because the crew of the *Bon Homme Richard* was composed of seamen of different nations, of whose residence even you yourself were ignorant, M. de Castries having refused to settle with you the wages due to the crew, and consented only to pay 15,000 livres, to face the demands of the American seamen, on the guarantee of M. Grand to be responsible for its disbursement, it is proper you should explain how that disbursement was made. And it is also proper, Sir, before making to you another payment, that you should give me a statement in detail of the sums you paid, over and above the 15,000 livres, which you received in 1784, with the vouchers; as you can only be indemnified for what you may have advanced of your own funds, the wages in question not being payable to yourself personally and directly.

“DE BERTRAND.”

The following is a translation from the draft of an angry reply to this certainly too uncourteous and business-like epistle. It was not sent to the minister, as the tide of popular feeling ran high against the court, and he was compelled or saw fit to retire from office, on the 17th March.

“ Paris, March 14, 1792.

“ SIR—Sickness has prevented me from replying sooner to the letter you caused to be sent to me, relative to the reclamation I made at the commencement of your administration, of the pay due by your government to a portion of the crew of the frigate *Bon Homme Richard*. Instead of complying with my just demand, after so long, and, as it seems to me, so unnecessary a delay, you allow yourself to cast reflections on my conduct, in relation to that affair, and seem to address yourself, in writing to me, as to an agent of the Marquis de Castries.

“ I should deem myself worthy of your reproaches, were I to pass them over in silence.

“ It is impossible, Sir, that you, who pride yourself, in your letters, on the accuracy and regularity of your bureau, and on being informed of the most minute particulars connected with your department ; it is impossible, I say, that you should not know who I am, or the motives which induced your court to invite me, through the ambassador of the United States, to leave the American frigate which I commanded at Brest, and repair immediately to Versailles. But, as you affect to have no knowledge whatever of the great services which I have rendered to France, with means so inadequate, that I may perhaps say no one else ever undertook with the like, under such discouraging circumstances, enterprises of such moment,—you will permit me to complain, for the first time, of the not very generous, and even unjust treatment, which I have received in return, from two of your predecessors. While M. de Sartine was keeping me the first time, at court, the frigate I commanded set sail from Brest and returned to America. I lost all my crew, who were inveigled by the sailors, who falsely represented, during my absence, that the minister had prohibited the sale of their prizes. M. de Sartine amused me afterwards for a year ; and when I threatened to complain to the king and to the public of the manner in which I had been treated, he gave me orders to command a naval force, badly equipped in all respects ; and intrusted his own armament to a person so indiscreet, and such

an *egoiste*, that I should have refused the command with contempt, if I had not previously announced to Congress the flattering manner, in which, contrary to my intention, I had been invited by the court of France to remain in Europe. That minister having sent me, under different pretexts and after various shifts, to all the French ports on the ocean, and to divers cannon foundries, saw fit to pay me a sum of money, to indemnify me for the expenses of my voyage, before giving me a military employment. This was done of his own accord, as I never demanded a farthing from him, in the shape of reward or indemnity.

“As I could not accept a commission in the royal marine of France, without appearing to desert, in some measure, the American cause, the minister consented that the force commanded by me should carry the flag, and be governed by the laws and commission of the United States. All the recompense I asked, and this was solemnly granted me, was, that my prisoners should be exchanged for unfortunate Americans, taken at sea, and detained, by act of parliament, in English dungeons, as *pirates*.

“Without entering into an exact detail of my perilous operations, let us see how I was rewarded by the minister on my return from the Texel and from Spain, to the French ports. Those who remained of the *Bon Homme Richard*’s crew, my officers and myself, had lost all our effects when that rotten old vessel went down, after a conflict unexampled in history ; for she was not, as you seem to think, a ship of the line, but a bad sailer, fifteen years old, built for the merchant service, and badly armed with thirty-four twelve pounders. No one can run such risks as I did, for three consecutive months, in the Texel, blockaded inside by a Dutch fleet, and outside by several English squadrons, while a price was set on my head, and I was exposed to the treachery of individuals and the cupidity of avarice.

“My fortitude and self-denial alone dragged Holland into the war a service of the greatest importance to this nation ; for

without that great event, no calculation can ascertain when the war would have ended.

“ Would you suppose, Sir, that my prisoners, 600 in number, were treacherously taken out of my hands in the Texel, with two of my prizes, a new ship of war, pierced for 56 guns, and a frigate of 24 guns in one battery? Would you suppose, that I was driven out of the Texel in a single frigate belonging to the United States, in the face of forty-two English ships, and vessels posted to cut off my retreat? My prisoners were disposed of without my consent, and contrary to my intention. My prizes were all taken possession of, and some of them, particularly the ship of 56 guns, degraded and cut to pieces before my eyes, and in contempt of my authority, though that ship, by the laws of the American flag, was the exclusive property of the captors.

“ You take me, Sir, to be a school-boy, when you say: ‘ *J’ai l’honneur de vous observer, monsieur, qu’il est toujours d’usage de payer directement aux marins le décompte des salaires qui leur reviennent au désarmement de bâtimens.*’ I could not have supposed, Sir, that you had thought me so ignorant as to need that information seventeen years after I was first honoured with the rank of captain in the navy. Had this rule been followed in regard to the crew of the Bon Homme Richard, in pursuance of my reclamation at the time, I should never have said a word to you on that subject, much less on what personally regards myself.

“ Though my crews were almost naked, and had no money to purchase necessities, yet my constant application to court for two months produced no relief, no payment whatever, either for salary or prize-money. I was on the point of sailing back to America, without any hope of obtaining justice; without the least acknowledgment, direct or indirect, that the court was satisfied with my services; when, in a moment of despair, I came to court to demand satisfaction.

“ The minister of the United States accompanied me to M. Sartine, who gave us a reception as cold as ice, did not say to me a single word, nor ask me if my health had not suffered from

my wounds and the uncommon fatigue I had undergone.* The public did me more justice than the minister ; and I owe to the king *alone* the flattering marks of distinction with which I was honoured,—a gold sword, and the order of military merit.

“ But I solicited in vain for wages and prize-money, due to my crew ; and the minister of marine detained me so long, that the seamen of the American frigate I had left at L’Orient, despairing to obtain redress, revolted, and carried that frigate back to America.

“ With the remainder of the crew of the *Bon Homme Richard*, as prisoners, on account of their personal attachment to me, on this occasion again, I lost all my effects, without receiving any indemnity.

“ The crew of this frigate, and that of the *Bon Homme Richard*, were paid on their arrival in America, according to the rolls which I had presented to the *Marechal de Castries*. Under what pretext of justice, then, could that minister take ‘t upon himself, according to your suggestions, to mutilate and divide that roll ? But the shuffling (*chicane*) of a man who can forfeit his word of honour, solemnly pledged ; who, to hide his disgrace, dares use the name of his sovereign for protection, who, a hundred to one, never knew a word of the affair to which I allude ; the pitiful evasions of such a man, cannot surprise one who has for many years been accustomed to the baseness and duplicity of some who are attached to courts.

“ Have any of the sailors in question, during twelve years, demanded their wages in France ? No ! and the reason is simple enough ; because they were paid by my orders on their arrival in America.

“ You enumerate to me six nations, and *others*, on the roll. Is it necessary to tell a man as well informed as yourself, that the citizens of the United States, sailors as well as those of

* A fragment has been referred to containing this portion of the letter cited, in a previous page of this work. The whole draft of the letter came subsequently into the editor’s hands.

other vocations, belong to different European nations, whose subjects obtain certain rights and privileges, the moment they set foot on free ground? The anxiety you seem to feel for the imagined foreign seamen is, therefore, superfluous.

"The king having intrusted me with a small frigate, I returned to America, and an agent was authorized to demand satisfaction for prize-money, &c.

"I continued to render good and faithful services to France, until the end of the war; and, by express orders of the United States, made the last campaign in the fleet of M. de Vandreuil, which was destined to execute an enterprise against Jamaica; an island about which I knew more than any other sea-officer of the squadron.

"On the conclusion of peace, as the United States' agent had not been able, after three years' solicitation, to obtain any satisfaction from the court of France, Congress engaged me to accept a special commission, and to return to Europe, in order to finish this business. You thus perceive, Sir, that I was clothed with a character, rather more respectable than that of agent of the Marquis de Castries; and I presume you will confess, that it was indecent in the minister to demand from me as surety, a banker, or any other person, in a matter in which I acted in the name of my sovereign, to whom alone I could be responsible.

"It is hard for me to conceive how I could have adopted the course of employing M. Grand to write to M. de Castries, in relation to the salaries of sailors on the roll in question. I did wrong, certainly. I compromised the honour of my mission. But the marechal only asked for security to insure himself against any claims which might be made by individuals after the termination of the business.

"It is true, the Marquis de Castries pretended for a long time that I should give him security for the prize-money; but I at last made him recede from the absurdity of that demand. I was detained in Europe four years; and having in that time spent sixty thousand livres of my own money, I received for my

share of all the prizes, as commander of the *Bon Homme*, thirteen thousand livres!

“ This seems extraordinary, and demands explanation. It will probably suffice to say, that I had only obtained, by the final liquidation, a seventh of the price which the ship of war cost the British government before the capture; and that the merchantmen were paid for in nearly the same way. I have yet to learn, by what rule, and under what pretext of justice, the government interfered in this matter, retarded the settlement so long, and finally, arbitrarily determined on the rights of the captors, in a manner so incompatible with the character of a great and generous nation, and so contrary to the laws of the American flag. I knew an officer who lost a frigate less honourably than I lost the *Bon Homme Richard*, and I have heard it stated that he received fifty thousand livres as a gratification. I have received nothing, though I have thrice lost all my effects in the service. I have never been reimbursed for the expenses of my table, as commander, and you may see by the rolls in your bureaux, that my name is in blank, and that I have also received no salary.

“ But what affects me most sensibly is, that my officers and crew on board of the *Bon Homme Richard*, did not receive any gratification, and were treated in all respects in a manner unworthy of the essential services they rendered. I except three subjects of France, who served with me at the same time, and who have rewards and a pension.

“ Permit me to compare this treatment with that the French officers received who served in the American army. The war had been carried on for several years by the Americans alone; and there is no instance where the United States *invited* a French officer to enter into their service. Such as presented themselves and were accepted, have all of them bettered their situation by that connexion. At the end of the war, they received a gratification of five years' pay, the order of Cincinnatus, and a lot of land; and they enjoy grades superior to what they could have attained under other circumstances. If we except

the Marquis de la Fayette, they were all poor when they went to America. They are all now in easy circumstances; and have, ever since the peace, received six per cent. on their funds in America. In short, they have been treated much better than the Americans themselves, who served from the beginning to the end of the revolution.

"I pray you, Sir, to lay this letter before the king. It contains many things out of the general rule of delicacy which marks my proceedings, and which, on any other occasion less affecting to my sensibility, would never have escaped from my tongue or pen.

"His majesty has in his hands an account of my campaigns, supported by proofs. I shall have the honour of presenting myself at court, with a letter which the United States have intrusted me with, to be personally delivered to their great and good ally. As I have hitherto been the dupe and victim of my modesty, and especially as you appear to make no account of my services and sacrifices, I am persuaded I shall gain much by increasing the number of my judges. I flatter myself, however, that your justice will spare me the repugnance I should feel in taking such measures, though I know that *public* opinion would be favourable to me."

M. Bertrand de Moleville having been succeeded in his office by M. de la Coste, Jones re-opened his negotiations, or intended to have done so, immediately. The letter is dated in the same month, (March,) but the day of the month is not inserted. It is probably the last letter of the kind that he wrote.

Rear Admiral Paul Jones to the Minister of the French Marine.

"Paris, March, 1792.

"SIR—In the beginning of the administration of your predecessor, I informed him, that this government, not having paid the salary due to a part of the crew of the *Bon Homme Richard* at the time when they were discharged from the service, they had been paid on their arrival at Boston; and having my

self been sent back here after the war, under a special commission from the United States, to settle the claims of my crews, I presented a memorial, reclaiming that part of the salary that had never been reimbursed. The minister held me in suspense for about five months, and then to my great surprise, instead of satisfying my just demand, he addressed me in a very uncivil letter, treating me, as I conceive, like a schoolboy, and permitting himself to cast unjust and uncivil reflections on my past conduct. My health did not permit me to answer immediately; but I had prepared a letter, and was just going to send it, when I learned that he had resigned his place as the minister of the marine, and that you were named as his successor.

“ I request the favour, Sir, that you may read this letter and my answer; after which I persuade myself you will do justice to my first demand, which is merely official. As to my personal pretensions, I never should have set up a claim on that score under circumstances less affecting to my sensibility. Of this I need offer no other proof than my silence in that respect for twelve years past. My losses and unavoidable expenses during my long connexion with this nation, amount to a large sum, and have greatly lessened my fortune. I have given solemn proofs of my great attachment towards France, and that attachment still remains undiminished. I persuade myself that I may with full assurance repose my interests through your ministry on the national justice. I have the honour to be,” &c.

From this time the symptoms of Jones rapidly grew alarming and unequivocal. He was seized with jaundice, to which dropsy succeeded, and he died on the 18th July. The following letters of M. Beaupoil and Colonel Blackden to the sisters of the rear admiral, furnish the best account of his last moments, and the manner of his death.

“ *Letter of M. Beaupoil to either Mrs. Taylor or Mrs. Loudon, sisters of Paul Jones, Esq. Admiral in the Russian service.*

“ MADAM—I am sorry to acquaint you that your brother, Admiral Paul Jones, my friend, paid yesterday the debt we all

owe to nature. He has made a will, which is deposited in the hands of Mr. Badinier, notary, St. Servin^e street, Paris. The will was drawn in English, by Mr. Governor Morris, minister of the UNITED STATES, and translated faithfully by the French notary aforesaid. The admiral leaves his property, real and personal, to his two sisters and their children. They are named in the will as being married, one to William Taylor, and the other to ——— Loudon, of Dumfries. The executor is Mr. Robert Morris, of Philadelphia. If I could be of any service to you in this business, out of the friendship I bore your brother, I would do it with pleasure. I am a Frenchman and an officer. I am sincerely yours,

“BEAUPOIL.

‘Paris, July 19, 1792, No. 7, Hôtel Anglais,
Passage des Petits Pères.”

“The English will is signed by Colonels Swan, Blackden, and myself. The schedule of his property lying in Denmark, Russia, France, America, and elsewhere, is signed by Mr. Morris, and deposited by me in his bureau, with the original will. Every thing is sealed up at his lodgings, Tournon street, No. 42, Paris.

“You may depend also on the good services of Colonel Blackden, who was an intimate friend of the admiral’s. That gentleman is setting out for London, where you may hear of him at No. 18, Great Tichfield Street, London.”

“*Colonel Blackden to Mrs. Taylor, of Dumfries, eldest sister of Admiral Paul Jones.*

‘Great Tichfield Street, London, August 9th.

“MADAM—I had the honour of receiving your letter of the 3d instant, and shall answer you most readily. Your brother, Admiral Jones, was not in good health for about a year, but had not been so unwell as to keep house. For two months past he began to lose his appetite, to grow yellow, and show signs of the jaundice; for this he took medicine, and seemed to grow

better ; but about ten days before his death his legs began to swell, which increased upwards, so that two days before his exit he could not button his waistcoat, and had great difficulty of breathing.

“ I visited him every day, and, beginning to be apprehensive of his danger, desired him to settle his affairs ; but this he put off till the afternoon of his death, when he was prevailed on to send for a *notaire*, and made his will. Mr. Beaupoil and myself witnessed it at about 8 o'clock in the evening, and left him sitting in a chair. A few minutes after we retired, he walked into his chamber, and laid himself upon his face, on the bed-side, with his feet on the floor ; after the queen's physician arrived, they went into the room, and found him in that position, and upon taking him up, they found he had expired.

“ His disorder had terminated in dropsy of the breast. His body was put into a leaden coffin on the 20th, that in case the United States, whom he had so essentially served, and with so much honour to himself, should claim his remains, they might be more easily removed. This is all, Madam, that I can say concerning his illness and death.

“ I most sincerely condole with you, Madam, upon the loss of my dear and respectable friend, for whom I entertained the greatest affection, and as a proof of it, you may command the utmost exertion of my feeble abilities, which shall be rendered with cheerfulness. I have the honour to be, Madam, your most obedient and humble servant,

“ S. BLACKDEN.”

It will be seen from these letters, that though suffering severely from bodily affliction, and no doubt equally from mental restlessness and disquietude, Jones did not die without the sympathy and succour of respectable friends, nor in obscurity and actual want, as has been surmised, and indeed stated, in some notices of his life. The credentials of his excellency Governor Morris, as minister plenipotentiary to the court of France, had been forwarded to him from America in the latter end of Janu-

ary preceding, at which time, it is to be inferred from a letter of Mr. Jefferson to him,* he was not in Paris. With him, therefore, Jones could not have had a long intercourse; but it is known, that though he was not present at the rear admiral's funeral, the ambassador showed him every attention, and it appears from his attest to a schedule, that he was with him on the day before his death.

One ray of brightness might have gilded the gloom which overhung the latter days of Jones' life; but there is little reason to believe that he was cheered by beholding it. He might have learned, that the United States had yet business for him to execute, in which the feelings of our citizens were deeply enlisted; and the management of which, in the opinion of government, required both dexterity and energy. It was a business, too, in relation to which he had for several years previous expressed his ardent desire to be useful. But the mission came too late. On the 1st June, Mr. Jefferson wrote to him from Philadelphia,† informing him that the president had thought proper to appoint him commissioner for treating with the Dey and government of Algiers, on the subjects of peace and ransom of American captives, remaining in the power of that regency. A knowledge of the appointment was to rest with the president, Mr. Pinckney, who had just been appointed minister to England, and Mr. Jefferson. The secret instructions given in the letter are of much interest. If testimony were wanting of the confidence reposed by the secretary of state in the shrewdness, discretion, and energy of Jones, his being employed in this trust would sufficiently supply it.

The national assembly paid his memory the honour of sending a deputation of twelve of their body to attend the funeral.‡

* Jefferson's Writings, III. 168. † Ib. 171.

‡ The following is an extract from the procès-verbal of the National Assembly, on the 19th July, 1792, 4th year of liberty.

"The National Assembly, desirous of honouring the memory of Paul Jones, Admiral of the United States of America, and to preserve, by a memorable example, the

He was buried at Paris on the 20th July, and the following funeral discourse was pronounced over his grave by Mr. Marron, a protestant clergyman of Paris :

[TRANSLATION.]

“ *Discourse pronounced by Mr. Marron, officiating Protestant Clergyman, at the funeral of Admiral Paul Jones, July 20, 1792, in Paris.*

“ Legislators ! citizens ! soldiers ! friends ! brethren ! and Frenchmen ! we have just returned to the earth the remains of an illustrious stranger, one of the first champions of the liberty of America ; of that liberty which so gloriously ushered in our own. The Semiramis of the north had drawn him under her standard, but Paul Jones could not long breathe the pestilential air of despotism ; he preferred the sweets of a private life in France, now free, to the eclat of titles and of honours, which, from a *usurped throne*, were lavished upon him by Catharine. The fame of the brave outlives him ; his portion is immortality. What more flattering homage could we pay to the manes of Paul Jones, than to swear on his tomb to live or to die free ? It is the vow, it is the watch-word of every Frenchman.

“ Let never tyrants, nor their satellites, pollute this sacred earth ! May the ashes of the great man, too soon lost to humanity, and eager to be free, enjoy here an undisturbed repose ! Let his example teach posterity the efforts which noble souls are capable of making, when stimulated by hatred to oppression. Friends and brethren, a noble emulation brightens in your looks ; your time is precious ; *the country is in danger !* Who amongst us would not shed the last drop of their blood to save it ? Associate yourselves to the glory of Paul Jones, in imitating him in his contempt of dangers, in his devotedness to his

equality of religious rites, decrees, that twelve of its members shall assist at the funeral rites of a man who has served so well the cause of liberty.” This resolution is translated from a certified copy, signed on the 29th March, in the following year.

country in his noble heroism, which, after having astonished the present age, will continue to be the imperishable object of the veneration of future generations!"

"Testament of Paul Jones, 18th July, 1792.

"Before the undersigned notaries, at Paris, appeared Mr. John Paul Jones, citizen of the United States of America, resident at present in Paris, lodged in the street of Tournon, No. 42, at the house of Mr. Dorberque, *huissier audiancier* of the tribunal of the third *arrondissement*, found in a parlour in the first story above the floor, lighted by two windows opening on the said street of Tournon, sitting in an arm-chair, sick of body, but sound of mind, memory, and understanding, as it appeared to the undersigned notaries by his discourse and conversation,—

"Who, in view of death, has made, dictated, and worded, to the undersigned notaries, his testament as follows :

"I give and bequeath all the goods, as well moveable as heritable, and all, generally, whatever may appertain to me at my decease, in whatever country they may be situated, to my two sisters, Janette, spouse to William Taylor, and Mary, wife to Mr. Loudon, and to the children of my said sisters, to divide them into as many portions as my said sisters and their children shall make up individuals, and to be enjoyed by them in the following manner :

"My sisters, and those of their children, who on the day of my death shall have reached the age of twenty-one, will enjoy their share in full property from the date of decease. As for those of my nephews and nieces who at that period of time may not reach the age of twenty-one years, their mothers will enjoy their shares till such time as they attain that said age, with charge to them to provide for their food, maintenance, and education ; and as soon as any of my nephews or nieces will have reached the age of twenty-one years, the same will enjoy his share in full property.

"If one or more of my nephews and nieces should happen to die without children before having reached the age of twenty-

one, the share of those of them who may have deceased shall be divided betwixt my said sisters and my other nephews and nieces by equal portions.

“ I name the Honourable Robert Morris, Esq. of Philadelphia, my only testamentary executor.

“ I revoke all other testaments or codicils which I may have made before the present, which alone I stand by as containing my last will.

“ So made, dictated, and worded, by said testator, to the said notaries undersigned, and afterwards read, and read over again to him by one of them, the other being present, which he well understood, and persevered in, at Paris, the year 1792, the 18th July, about five o'clock afternoon, in the room heretofore described, and the said testator signed the original of the present, unregistered, at Paris, the 25th September, 1792, by Defrance, who received one livre, provisionally, save to determine definitively the right after the declaration of the revenue of the testator. The original remained with Mr. Pottier, one of the notaries at Paris, undersigned, who delivered these presents this day, 26th September, 1792, first of the French republic.

“ POTTIER.

“ (Signed) L' AVERNIER.”

[COPY.]

“ *Schedule of the property of Admiral John Paul Jones, as stated by him to me this 18th of July, 1792.*

“ 1. Bank stock in the Bank of North America, at Philadelphia, 6000 dollars, with sundry dividends.

“ 2. Loan-Office certificate left with my friend Mr. Ross, of Philadelphia, for two thousand dollars, at par, with great arrearages of interest, being for ten or twelve years.

“ 3. Such balance as may be in the hands of my said friend John Ross, belonging to me, and sundry effects left in his care.

“ 4. My lands in the state of Vermont.

" 5. Shares in the Ohio Company.*

" 6. Shares in the Indiana Company.

" 7. About £1800 sterling due to me from Edward Bancroft,

* An advertisement appeared in the American papers, dated Marietta, May 20th, 1796, giving information, that John Paul Jones was a proprietor of five shares, or 5867 acres, in a tract purchased by the Ohio Company, in the United States territory, for which a deed would be given, on the application of his heirs or representatives. One of these advertisements, cut from a paper, now before me, was, as appears by the letter to which it is attached, transmitted to Mr. Taylor, of Dumfries, by the eldest son of Sir Alexander Gordon, of Culvenan, at the request of the *Earl of Selkirk*.

The following memorandum, translated, as appears from certain erasures, from the French, (the original is not found among the papers,) is a recapitulation by Jones, of his services rendered to the United States, and the honours he received from France and America. Let him be allowed to sum them up himself. The date is not inscribed on the paper.

" In 1775, J. Paul Jones armed and embarked in the first American ship of war. In the revolution he had twenty-three battles and solemn rencountres by sea; made seven descents in Britain and her colonies; took of her navy two ships of equal, and two of far superior force, many store ships, and others; constrained her to fortify her ports; suffer the Irish volunteers; desist from her cruel burnings in America, and exchange, as prisoners of war, the American citizens, taken on the ocean and cast into prisons in England as 'traitors, pirates, and felons!' In his perilous situation in Holland, his conduct drew the Dutch into the war, and eventually abridged the revolution.

HONOURS—BY LOUIS XVI.

" The order of military merit, and a gold sword, June 28th, 1780.

BY CONGRESS.

" The thanks of the United States, April 14, 1781. Elected first officer of the navy, June 26, 1781. Presented with a gold medal, October 16, 1787.

" This favour was granted to only six officers. 1st. General Washington, commander in chief, for the taking of Boston. 2d. General Gates, for taking the army of General Burgoyne. 3d. To General Wayne, for taking Rocky Point, of which the garrison was much stronger than the assailants. 4th. To General Morgan, for having cut down and destroyed a detachment of eleven hundred officers and soldiers of the best troops of England, with nine hundred men solely militia. 5th. To General Green, for having gained a decisive victory over the enemy at Entaw Springs. But all these medals, although well merited, were given in the moments of enthusiasm. He had the satisfaction solely to receive the same honour by the *unanimous* voice of the United States assembled in Congress, the 16th October, 1787, in memory of services which he had rendered eight years before."

unless paid by him to Sir Robert Herries, and is then in his hands.

“8. Upwards of four years of my pension due from Denmark, to be asked from the Count de Bernstorff.

“9. Arrearages of my pay from the empress of Russia, and all my prize-money.

“10. The balance due to me by the United States of America, of sundry claims in Europe, which will appear from my papers.

“This is taken from his mouth.

“GOVERNEUR MORRIS.”

Several papers, and vouchers, nominally for a considerable value, were certified by Mr. Robert Hyslop, of New York, in 1797, to have been left in his hands, “belonging to the estate of the late Commodore Jones.” The value of most of them, it would seem from the inventory, was merely nominal, so far as money could be recovered upon them.

Whatever claim Jones might have had upon this government, none has ever been urged since the partial settlement of his accounts in 1787, of which his correspondence and the accompanying documents make any mention. His representatives were more fortunate, in obtaining a partial payment from France. His sister, Mrs. Taylor, set out from Scotland for Paris, in the month of October, next after his death, and after some adventures, almost romantic, succeeded in obtaining shelter, and an introduction, which enabled her to appear in person before the national assembly, and present her claim. Payment was ordered; but she was obliged to escape, and find her way home through tumult and danger, after all her acquaintances had left the capital, before she had received the whole amount. She was in the city, when Louis XVI. suffered, a spectacle her brother was spared from witnessing. His remains mouldered quietly in the spot where they were deposited, while the storms of revolution roared over them unheard.

His papers were among the articles belonging to him, which Mrs. Taylor was enabled to secure. Three days after she left

Paris, Mr. White, Maitre d'Hotel Anglais, with whom she had lodged, was arrested, and his effects were seized. A gentleman who had been a particular acquaintance of Mrs. Taylor, and an Irishman who had acted as her *valet de place*, were guillotined.

In the personal appearance of Paul Jones there was nothing, if we may credit the statement of those who remember him, and among these, of ladies, who are perhaps the best judges; nor is there any thing in the busts or pictures taken of him, that would have particularly attracted attention. He was of the middle size, if not rather under; naturally active in body, and capable of undergoing much fatigue, as is evident from the record of his life which has been presented. His bust, by Houdon, of which several copies remain in this country, is believed to be the best representation of his features ever made. Their character is that of decision and self-will.

His occupations, from boyhood until long after the period when the social habits of men are generally developed, were such as to preclude us from forming an estimate of what these would naturally have been, under other circumstances. His attachment to his near relations, of whom he saw so little from the period of his childhood, and nothing, after a hasty visit paid to them when he was in his twenty-fourth year, is sufficiently shown by his correspondence, and the last act of his life. It became, of course, necessary for him to adopt the manners of the different courts and circles into which he was introduced; and, though he could not have been a polished courtier, it is as obvious that he was not rude and inapt. The frankness, and even the innocent vanity which may, perhaps, have characterized his demeanour on such occasions, are certainly allied to good nature, simplicity of heart, and a love for the family of man. The testimony of many of his officers, and the crews that served under him, rendered in different publications since his death, is not wanting to prove that, though a practical as well as a theoretical stickler for discipline, he was sincerely liked and revered among them. The late Commodore Dale,

in relating anecdotes of his cruise under him, and their whole intercourse, always spoke of him as "Paul" simply, and as of a friend whom he had loved and lost. In these different relations, therefore, and in the constant expressions of his craving desire to mitigate the woes, and break the fetters of mankind,

"Where'er degraded nature bleeds and pines,"

we can detect no elements of an organization, which could have made him, as tradition has reported, "an unpleasant companion in a stage-coach."

That his temperament was ardent, impatient, and irritable, may not be denied. That he was enabled to subdue its first impulses, on occasions where important interests were at stake, should add to his fame the glory of victories, often more difficult than those which he gained on the ocean. We shall not take into account a few letters written under the combined pressure of disease and undeserved disappointment, when we say, that he never forfeited his own self-respect, nor was it ever misled or "frighted" from its propriety. In relation to his personal differences with individuals, idle stories have been in circulation, some of which have not become entirely obsolete; but they are all, where their truth might reflect discredit upon Jones, utterly without foundation, as a simple comparison of dates will prove. His treatment of the eccentric Landais, was precisely such as the conduct of that officer called for, after Jones truly understood his character, and the persecution against him had been dropped. Yet it was such as it is difficult for a man of common passions, not under subjection to high-souled principles, and an unequivocal consciousness of rectitude and superiority, to observe, at all times, without making some demonstration of anger, or exhibiting some sign of pain.*

* Since the pages of the first part of this volume were stereotyped, the compiler has found a statement which appeared in the New York newspaper called the *Argus*, on the 30th October, 1787, signed by James Milligan, containing a precisely worded account of what happened on one occasion, when Landais passed Jones in

His natural temper being duly considered, the education which Jones received, or rather acquired, will much more readily account for what may be deemed his infirmities, than for the successes he attained, and the honours he won with such chivalrous daring, and wore with such chivalrous pride. He must be allowed to have possessed intellectual faculties much above those of ordinary men; and such as were precisely wanted for the services which our young republic required him to execute. The energy, accuracy, and propriety of his style of writing, shew that he thought, as well as expressed himself, with an order and regularity which can never belong to an undisciplined mind. At the same time, he thought earnestly and solely with a reference to the point which he wished to carry; and went into negotiation as he went into battle, with no wish to waste any ammunition, or lose any time in manœuvring. He was, of course, according to the manners of his age, a better partizan-warrior than diplomatist.

The elements which constitute a hero were liberally mixed up in his character. He had courage, humanity, liberality; a romantic admiration of woman; the art of commanding; the

the street, which may have been the same with that alluded to in a note in the Appendix to Part I. The substance of this communication is, that on the 20th October, about noon, the narrator accidentally met Jones in Water-street, at the upper end of Gouverneur's Alley. After conversing two or three minutes, Landais came down the street, towards them, which Milligan mentioned to Jones, whose back was towards Landais. Landais passed very slowly, and kept his eyes on them with a kind of smile in his countenance, till he was about six or seven yards distant, when, looking at Milligan more particularly, he said, "I spit in his face." When he had walked on, the narrator asked Jones if he had understood what Landais said. He answered, "No, I did not hear him." Mr. Milligan did not inform Jones what the words were, observed that his countenance was perfectly tranquil and composed, and had no idea whatever that the action of which Landais spoke had been attempted.

Jones saw fit to add to the certificate, of which the foregoing is the substance, the following words, with his signature annexed: "My respect for the public has induced me to establish the falsity of the report of Peter Landais, by the above relation of Mr. Milligan, the only evidence in question. The original is in my hands. Having discharged that duty, I shall not condescend to reply to any thing that may be said or published by a person of his known character."

power of conceiving projects fraught with danger to the foe; of planning the details, and bringing them, by the mastery of his own practical genius to a successful result; ambition that was checked in its speculative mood by no other restraint than that of principle; and the inextinguishable love of glory, which gave its own golden hues to all his doings, sufferings, and aspirations. And surely that for which he fought remains, though the light has long since faded away from his vision.

He was, as has been remarked in the course of this compilation, precisely one of those men whom America wanted, and whom Providence in its wisdom raised up for the exigency. The very defects of his education, and even of his temper, were advantages to a cause where positive energy was invoked. He must and will be honoured among the foremost patriots whose services in battle the people of this republic are bound to hold in hallowed remembrance. It must be borne in mind, that the seeming frequency of his allusions to his own successes, in the foregoing pages, arises from the necessity of throwing together the correspondence of a series of years, addressed to individuals and public functionaries, and bodies widely separated by space and in political intercourse. It can scarcely be said, that he has exaggerated the utility, and certainly not the merit of his enterprises or performances. No naval commander, who sailed under the stars and stripes during the revolution, and "brought the red cross low," can claim more respectful notice in our annals, than the sailor boy from the shores of Solway Frith; who knew how to fight for the "rights of human nature," but was mistaken when he thought he could maintain his own independence, and reap laurels, in the service of a female autocrat, and under the orders of her luxurious and spoiled favourite, whose origin was still more humble than his own.

Franklin and Jefferson duly appreciated his value. They gave him every proof of their entire confidence, and have left behind them their testimony to his courage, intelligence, and unquestioned fidelity. The latest evidence of this, too lately given to console even the dying moments of one whose blood

and whose talents were devoted without reserve to the liberty of man, was furnished by Mr. Jefferson, when he recommended the admiral as a proper agent to redeem American captives from bondage in Algiers. Another name, no less illustrious, may be cited—that of one thrice happy, and thrice honoured ; and whose crowning glory places him in a moral attitude which no living individual can hope to attain. Can history supply a parallel ?

LA FAYETTE was the friend of Paul Jones. He was willing to have co-operated with him in one of the enterprises he had projected. He bears record to his high and stainless character as an officer, and as a man.

It is probable that the extravagant stories and ridiculous legends, circulated orally and in print, have excited a curiosity in relation to the life and character of Jones, which does not attach to that of many others, whose gallantry was equal to his own, but whom circumstances did not place in so prominent a point of view, or about whom there was less mystery, and less lying. He was one of those gallant men, whose exploits are worthy of being recorded ; and whose example has been so well imitated, that the cause of freedom is almost by a millenium in advance of what might have been prudently anticipated a hundred years ago. In his fond devotion to that holy cause, *Columbia* was his muse ; the doctrines of the fathers of our independence were the articles of his creed ; and, by what has been narrated or quoted, in relation to his latter moments, it has been seen, that then, like a true religionist of whatever sect, turning his face towards the star, the region, or the temple of his idolatry, he looked last to the United States of America, the youngest of nations, before he *died*. When he fought under the flag which is now respected on the all-encompassing ocean, wherever its pulse agitates the meanest stream which pays to the sea its lawful tribute, he knew of but *one* land of freedom. Under that pictured constellation, conveying a meaning far more useful and sublime than eastern sages ever read or chronicled in their observations of the firmament ; under this banner, which he

first had the happy privilege of raising with his own hands, he sailed, as from the birth-place, and as bearing the ensign, of LIBERTY. The ocean which he traversed, to maintain the holy cause in which he had embarked, was *one*, and indivisible, save by fragile barriers, which could only make stagnant a portion of its waters, incalculably small, and the loss of which the fountains of the great deep would instantaneously supply.

To this constellation he looked for his guidance, in the various courses on which he steered in his voyage of life. Can we better conclude this compilation of his shreds of autobiography than by hoping, that no one of those stars may ever "shoot madly from its sphere;" and that this banner may float, during all time, the truly blazoned emblem of "armed and awful" freedom?

"For ever float that standard sheet!"

And while it does float, there will be no true servant of his country, whether intrusted by her with authority in her marine, or doing his duty therein in the humblest office, who will not revere the memory, rejoice in the glory, and sometimes sigh for the crosses and disappointments of JOHN PAUL JONES.

FINIS.

D. Fanshaw, Printer.



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